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# The American Historical Review

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# The American Historical Review

## THE MEETING OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION AT ROCHESTER

THE first meeting of the American Historical Association was held at Saratoga in September, 1884. The intervals between meetings not having always been precisely a twelvemonth, the meeting of December 28-30, 1926, was the forty-first annual meeting. It was the first meeting ever held at Rochester, but was so abundantly successful that it surely will never be difficult to persuade the Association to come there again. The attendance was large, registration amounting to 507. The headquarters, the Hotel Seneca, were comfortable, and gave opportunity for the holding of most of the sessions under that one roof. The arrangements for the sessions worked smoothly in every particular but one—and in that one (of which more later) no fault could be attributed to the local Committee on Arrangements—and reflected great credit upon the secretary of that committee, Professor Dexter Perkins, of the University of Rochester, whose efficiency won universal gratitude. Much gratitude was also due to the University of Rochester, whose cordial hospitality included a reception by President and Mrs. Rhee in the Memorial Art Gallery, and an enjoyable luncheon in the hotel. Further hospitalities were provided by the Rochester Club and the Rochester Historical Society and by the Eastman School of Music. The latter afforded a great pleasure, of a sort unusual to the meetings of the Association, by providing for the members a brief but delightful concert of chamber music by the Kilbourn Quartet and Mr. Richard Halliley.

Two other societies, according to their custom, united with the American Historical Association in the occasion. The Agricultural History Society held one joint session with the older body, devoting it to studies of personalities prominent in the history of agricultural progress, suggestions for an Agricultural Who's Who of

the period before the Civil War. It also had a dinner at which Mr. L. C. Gray, of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics of the Department of Agriculture at Washington, read a paper on the Problem of the Market Surplus in Colonial Tobacco. The Mississippi Valley Historical Association also had one joint meeting with the older body, with papers that may better be described at a later point, and a dinner, marked by much jovial enjoyment, by entertaining talk from Mr. Hamlin Garland, by three-minute speeches (historians can be brief if Professor Shambaugh presides), and even—if historians will believe it—by singing.

As usual, the pressure for specialized sessions which the zeal of specialists always exercises upon the chairman of the Programme Committee was relieved by devoting even luncheon-time and dinner-time to paper-reading and discussion. There was a Luncheon Conference of those who pursue the history of the Far East, another of those devoted to modern European history, while after another there was discussion of a practical report made by Professor M. W. Jernegan of Chicago, which may be described later. There was also a dinner for medievalists, at which Professor George L. Burr, of Cornell University, sounded a note of caution as to general attitudes toward the Middle Ages, and a dinner for students of Hispanic-American history, at which there was discussion of means and methods for widening among colleges and universities an interest in the study of Hispanic-American history, with congratulations over the successful resumption of publication of the *Hispanic American Historical Review*, under the auspices of Duke University.

It has been said, at an earlier passage of this narrative, that all arrangements for the meeting worked prosperously except one. That one was the arrangement, made year after year by successive programme committees for forty years past, that papers read before the Association shall, unless some other duration is promised to the reader, be confined within the limits of twenty minutes. The reasons for the rule are obvious. If a speaker exceeds his time, he pushes the programme of the session along, with grave disadvantage to the last speaker, and in most cases until the session conflicts with the next engagement in the programme carefully constructed by the committee, so that perhaps it becomes impossible for the members to attend, as courtesy requires and inclination leads, a reception or other entertainment hospitably arranged by the hosts of the occasion. Yet often, from the beginning of the Association's history, the rule has been disregarded. The writer remembers, from the meeting of 1886, a diverting scene in which the venerable president George

Bancroft, then eighty-five years old, was compelled even to pull the coat-tail of a determined perpetrator of a dull paper before he could bring him to a stop, at the end of forty-five minutes instead of twenty. From year to year the evil is accustomed to grow until some president less patient than his predecessors sends notice almost truculent to all participants, that this time the rule will be enforced. The writer remembers such a president, of the year 1907, and the vice-presidents who were to succeed him in 1908 and 1909 joined with him in a triple alliance that for three years assured clock-like regularity to the proceedings. But readers of papers have again waxed stout upon indulgence, and few at Rochester failed to run beyond their appointed time. Doubtless professors are more accustomed to talk than to listen, and in their ordinary practice are geared to talk fifty-five minutes on end, to audiences that can neither resist nor escape, and one who has a vital message of tremendous import to convey, respecting, say, the diplomacy of the Prince-Bishop of Würzburg in 1426, finds twenty minutes all too short. But if intimations from within are lacking they should be supplied from without, and our belief is that the next president of the Association will have the audiences with him if, like Mr. Speaker, he brings down the gavel when "the gentleman's time has expired".

Much praise should be bestowed upon the programme, which reflected great credit upon the chairman of the Programme Committee, Professor Laurence B. Packard, of Amherst College. One great merit lay in the simplification of the programme, which included fewer papers than any other programme of recent years, and more papers which drew audiences of five or six hundred than the present writer can remember from any previous occasion. Another merit lay in the attention given to practical questions or to papers leading to a practical result. Among such were the "Word of Caution" which Professor Burr addressed to the dinner of medievalists, warning them from false estimates of the Middle Ages based on sentimental considerations of recent origin. Another was that which Professor W. E. Lingelbach, of the University of Pennsylvania, laid before the students of modern European history at their luncheon, in which he discussed modern diplomatic documents, the need of applying scrupulously to them the most rigorous tests of historical criticism, and the necessity of knowing all that is possible as to how and why they were made, rather than to take them at their face value. On the same occasion, Professor Henry E. Bourne, of Western Reserve University, read a paper on Problems of Research in the Economic and Social History of France during



the Revolution, of which we expect to have the pleasure of printing in a later issue the part making suggestions for future work.

Similarly practical was the discussion by Professor Payson J. Treat, of Stanford University, on Prevalent Legends in the Modern History of the Far East, in which he attempted to account for the origin and vitality of some of the errors which have crept into recent historical writings in that field. A very recent example was found in the allegation that the United States urged China to enter the World War. Other examples were selected from the period of the Sino-Japanese war. The statements that China failed to warn Japan of her intention to send troops to Korea and that Japan later notified China that the dispatch of additional troops would be regarded as an unfriendly act, were traced to their probable sources. A more difficult problem, which was also considered, was presented by the assertion that the Japanese ministry forced a war upon China in order to gain a respite from the political agitation at home.

In this same session Professor Mikhail Rostovtzeff, of Yale University, discussed some aspects of the Chinese art of the Han Dynasty, first dwelling upon the new information which has been acquired from dated graves of the Han period and the artistic objects obtained from their excavation, and then considering the new problems of chronology and of style which have been raised. The question of the origin of the new elements discerned in the Han period has been greatly affected by the closer study of the art of southern Russia and Siberia, Iranian but not Persian in its main aspects, and by the evidences of Iranian landscape in sculpture, painting, and the minor arts, of other Iranian, Indo-Scythian, and Sarmatian art, and of the animal style.

In the joint session which the Association held with the Agricultural History Society the three papers read were biographical in character, relating to the ante-bellum period, Dr. Joseph Schafer, superintendent of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, speaking of men who in that period promoted the advancement of agriculture in the North, Professor A. O. Craven, of the University of Illinois, of those who fulfilled that function in the South, and Dr. Herbert A. Kellar, of the McCormick Agricultural Library in Chicago, of those of the West. Dr. Schafer discussed especially John P. Norton (1828-1852), professor of agricultural chemistry in Yale University, lecturer and writer, and Andrew Jackson Downing (1850-1852), author of *College Residences* and *Downing's Rural Essays* and editor of the *Horticulturalist* of Albany. Professor Craven concerned himself with the Virginians John Tyler and Ed-

mund Ruffin, but treated also of many other Southern "improvers in agriculture". Mr. Kellar gave appreciations of Solon Robinson of Indiana, a describer of the American scene easily comparable to Olmsted, and of Martin W. Philips of Mississippi, diarist and fluent publicist upon all plantation topics. The men chiefly treated were men of real significance; it is gratifying to say that as a fruit of the session, there will probably be printed a collection of Solon Robinson's many fugitive travel-sketches.

At the dinner of the Agricultural History Society Dr. L. C. Gray discussed in detail the problem of the market surplus of colonial tobacco. A review of the history of the prices of colonial tobacco reveals a series of depressions which grew out of the inelastic adjustment of volume of production to the changes in market demand as affected by wars and other interruptions of the course of trade. This inelasticity, in turn, may be attributed partly to those general characteristics of agricultural production which make it peculiarly inelastic, but also to certain special characteristics of tobacco production and marketing. Among these, were the large proportion of consumers' price represented by market and transport charges and customs duties; the prevalence of the consignment system until it was largely replaced in the last half-century of the period by the system of direct purchase inaugurated by the aggressive outport merchants; the influence of fixed charges connected with the indebtedness of commercial planters; and the economic inertia of the frontier producers, largely self-sufficing. Throughout the colonial period numerous and varied attempts were made to cope with the market surplus problem. These included legislative price-fixing; public monopolies; the monopolistic combination of British tobacco merchants, at times in co-operation with colonial planters; different forms of restriction of production attempted by legislative enactments; and attempts to improve and standardize quality by legislative regulation.

Of all papers of practical import that have been presented to the Association, perhaps none since the Report of the Committee of Seven, laid before it at the meeting of 1898, has aroused stronger or more extensive interest among the members than that which was read at Rochester by Professor Jernegan of Chicago, on Productivity on the part of Doctors of Philosophy in History. As an incident to the endowment campaign and in order to a wise expenditure of eventual income, a committee had been appointed, some months before, to prepare a programme for research and publication, the two chief activities for which additional endowment is sought. Believ-

ing that the Association ought to assume a more positive leadership in stimulating and guiding research and in publishing its results, the committee agreed that it might profitably take up as one of its tasks the inquiry why there is not a greater amount of productive research on the part of the holders of Ph.D. degrees in history. This inquiry was assigned by the committee to Professor Jernegan, one of its members, who framed an appropriate questionnaire and sent it to some five hundred doctors of philosophy in history, with a request for frank and full answers. Inquiries were also sent to some other persons, whose positions gave them opportunities of observation, from a more external point of view, over the academic field. Replies, many of them interesting and thoughtful, were received from fully half of those addressed. On the basis of these replies, classified and analyzed and to a good extent quoted, Dr. Jernegan made his report. We are to have the pleasure of printing it, as a survey of the status of American historical work in one important aspect, in our next number.

Without anticipating the paper, it may be permissible for an "old hand" to point out how great a change in the position of historical research within the last forty years is indicated by the assumptions which underlay both the inquiry and most of the replies. Forty years ago, outside the immediate circle of the Johns Hopkins University no professor felt obliged, by reason of occupying a professorial chair, to engage in any researches that would result in print. Nowadays the obligation is so taken for granted that nearly every historical professor who is not thus engaged feels either delinquent or uncomfortable.<sup>1</sup> The change has arisen out of two considerations. First, there has been an increasing perception of the public need for more historical knowledge, the fruit of research; and since there are few independent foundations for such investigations and, alas, few young Americans of independent means devote themselves to historical researches, how shall they be advanced unless they are made a duty of universities, that is, of professors? Yet how little effort is expended in directing research into channels that will surely be profitable to the science or to society! Thousands of dollars are now annually spent in subventions or "encouragements" to researchers (the writer remembers many who never received or asked such encouragements but whom no power could have kept from investigating) where ten are spent in indicating what subjects or

<sup>1</sup> And many men engage in research or talk about it who have not even learned to pronounce the word rightly. Is there not some committee of the Association which could fine (for the benefit of the endowment fund) or otherwise discipline members who say re'search instead of research?



questions are most worth investigating. Granting all that is said as to the public utility which may attend the results of research, our means of securing that they do have such utility are very imperfect.<sup>2</sup>

Secondly, it is accepted doctrine that the college or university instructor teaches better if he is engaged in some investigation "on the side". Quite right. Surely the main business of a teacher is to teach. Nearly all our colleges and universities were founded for that purpose alone. Those presidents whose indifference to research so many of Mr. Jernegan's correspondents accuse ought to encourage with liberality whatever will make their teachers vivid forces in the class-room. It is, however, not superfluous to point out that there are other ways besides research for achieving this end. Wide reading and careful thought, feeding the imagination and clarifying the judgment and energizing the powers of expression, may give the teacher all that his classes need, without his resorting to print at all.

Yet, with whatever cautions, it remains true that historical research, at any rate historical research on the part of men of talent, needs greater stimulation among us, and Professor Jernegan's systematic effort to find out what are the obstacles will surely aid toward their removal in the case of those gifted investigators from whose pathway they ought to be cleared.

The discussion of Professor Jernegan's paper took place at one of the luncheons, but the paper itself was read in the forenoon preceding, at the end of a session managed by the Committee on Research in Colleges, and in which two or three other papers were read that deserve brief mention. Professor C. P. Higby, of the University of North Carolina, had circulated a questionnaire to students of modern European history, in the endeavor to obtain statistical data as to the present status of that subject. He presented an interesting exhibit of the facts respecting their training, their experience in research abroad (almost solely in London and Paris), their respective amounts and character of publication, and

<sup>2</sup> Research in the physical sciences is perhaps more certain to be directed toward useful ends than research in humanistic fields, because the former is most commonly carried on in organized laboratories, where consultation is almost inevitable and a consensus of opinion as to what is worth while is easily formed, and has its effect on the investigator, whereas in most humanistic subjects the researcher can work in comparative isolation. He is therefore apt to take up with a subject merely because it interests him, without much thought of its value to his profession or to the world. A large proportion of the subjects of research which come to the notice of the present writer seem to him to be too unimportant, or to have been too well treated already, to deserve prolonged attention on the part of good scholars.

the fields of their chief interest. Professor A. E. Martin, of Pennsylvania State College, sketched the possibilities for exploitation of state history, on which, as he rightly indicated, there has been a great dearth of first-class work. What with the accessibility of the materials and the possibilities of co-operation with state and county historical societies, state history offers exceptional fields for teachers isolated otherwise from libraries and historical archives. Professor M. B. Garrett, of Howard College, Alabama, in a paper on the College Administration and Research, discussed the possibilities for encouragement of research by sympathetic presidents of colleges neither large nor opulent.

Another practical session was formed by combining the usual session given to the consideration of the public archives with the usual conference of state and local historical societies. Dr. A. C. Flick, state historian of New York, described what is being done in that state for the preservation of local records. The public record law of 1911, passed after the great fire in the State Capitol at Albany, created a state supervisor of records and charged him with the duty of preserving and protecting local public records. A public record was defined by law, and local officials were required to provide fire-proof vaults for their records. During the past fifteen years the supervisor of public records has devoted all his time to persuading local officials and communities to appreciate the legal, financial, economic, and social value of their records, to provide adequate protection for them against loss by fire, water, theft, and vermin, and to encourage local historians to print the earliest records so that their preservation is assured. As a result of these endeavors hundreds of safes have been purchased, many vaults provided, lost records recovered, neglected records repaired and rebound, and the public educated to better appreciation of the value of their records. A "local historian" has been designated in each of 1200 communities, required under the law to make inventories of the local records, to report to the state historian, and to induce local officials to give adequate protection to the records.

Mr. George S. Godard, librarian of the Connecticut State Library, gave in this same session a brief summary of the legislation of the states in 1926 relating to the care of archives, to vital records, to the transfer of old records for safe keeping to state libraries or historical societies, to processes of recording and indexing, to archive organization, and to similar topics. Mr. A. P. Hoard, of the Emory Record Preserving Company of Taunton, Massachusetts, gave an interesting account of the work which has been done by

that company since the 1890's in the preserving, repairing, and binding of public records. Mr. J. F. Jameson informed those present of the latest steps of progress toward the erection of the National Archive Building in Washington.

The chief matter in the Conference of Historical Societies was the discussion of a paper by Dr. Joseph Schafer on the possible use of Church Records in Studies of Migration. Although the United States censuses, from 1850 on, take account of the state or country of birth of each individual, they cast no light on the question, often important, of the county or other local unit, within the state, from which the person migrated or in which he was born. Since some churches, notably the Presbyterian, Baptist, Congregational, and Lutheran, admit to membership on letters or certificates issued by churches elsewhere, the records of these bodies, it was urged, may often be made helpful in showing where members came from, or where they went on leaving a given church. A collection of such data as to natives of New York found in Wisconsin during the pioneer age shows, for instance, that they did not all come from western New York as has been frequently assumed, but largely from southern New York also. Mrs. Charles M. Morris, of Milwaukee, speaking as one of the Colonial Dames in the State of Wisconsin, who had co-operated in Dr. Schafer's survey, emphasized the value of the support and co-operation, moral and material, which might be obtained from the hereditary-patriotic societies in the collection of historical records as to the diverse national and racial groups of migrants, and as to the arts which these groups have brought and contributed. Professor W. H. Allison, of Colgate University, reported upon the results of an examination of the records of the First Baptist Church of Hamilton, New York, which however seemed not to be illuminating on general problems. Professor S. E. Morison gave an entertaining description of the historical expedition conducted last summer, with great skill, by the Great Northern Railroad, on occasion of the Oregon Historical Society's celebration at Astoria and the dedication of the monument to the memory of the Astorians.

Of the contributions to the substance of history laid before the Association, the first place belongs of right to the annual address of its president, Professor Dana C. Munro, on "War and History". Its publication in our last issue makes analysis or description of it superfluous, but its delivery was accompanied by an incident which deserves record, if only for the pleasure it gave to the many friends of a president who has signalized his term of office by unprecedented assiduity in work for the Association. At the conclusion of the



address Professor L. J. Paetow, of California, speaking on behalf of a notable group of former students of Dr. Munro, made graceful presentation of a volume of historical studies, prepared for the occasion and in his honor. Publication of the volume will take place during the year. Most of the essays relate to the field which Dr. Munro has made especially his own, that of the history of the Crusades.

In the general session of the first afternoon the chairman, President D. R. Anderson, of Randolph-Macon Woman's College, introduced the discussion of the historian's data and method by mention of definitions of history subject to much dispute, reminding the hearers that in any case they could agree with the dictum of Cicero: History should not say anything that is false or hesitate to say anything that is true. The discussion was opened by Professor Carl Becker, of Cornell University, with the question: What is Historical Fact? While professing to determine and state the simple and solid historical fact, we find that this, like many another concept, is a term without exact meaning. The simplicity belongs to the statement rather than to the event. That Caesar crossed the Rubicon was historical fact only as related to the multiple fact of other men's acts, thoughts, and words, and it has meaning only by its value as a symbol of Caesar's relation to the Roman state and its fortunes. Solid fact sometimes proves to be a fluid complex, not of event but of idea, as in the case of a theory about antecedent ages which as idea exercises historical effect though later found to be an illusion without basis in actual happenings. A third type of "fact"—neither an act nor an idea—is found in emotion. But that Washington experienced anger at the battle of Monmouth becomes historical fact only in relation to battle plans and the failure to execute them. In general the fact is historical only by complex relations to attendant circumstances and to this complexity is due the historian's difficulty in satisfying critics by his statement. That the historical fact is not a hard, changeless entity is shown by its relation to the historian's purpose in giving it imaginative representation. Its form depends on the use made of it, and the historian, laboring to express its meaning in words, proves to be an artist, an artist successful only by the perfect joining of word and matter. An event "was", but its dependence on the historian's present interest raises the query whether it is *now* the historical fact. So many affirmations gather about any past event that the fact becomes plastic to the historian's judgment. We end with the question whether the historical fact is not to be found in the image or concept aroused in the reader of these affirmations.

Professor F. M. Fling, of the University of Nebraska, began a discussion of the Logic of Historical Synthesis with the questions: How select facts as historical, and how put them together? Only in recent years have Americans begun to discuss this matter and then in answer to sociologists. The historian of society and the scientist dealing with society differ in the form given by each to the facts used. Past social events are but raw material until they are selected and used for the purpose of a synthesis, whether this be sociological or historical. Each may use social events, but for different ends. One type reaches its ideal organization of reality by treating objects as mathematical and mechanical. The other views the reality of life as not static but changing, *i.e.*, historical. Only in our own day have the two methods come into collision. In contrast to the scientist the historian is concerned with values and with the individual event. He seeks not the scientist's "causality" but the cause of the individual happening and his synthesis consists in arranging certain past social facts in logical order, not in the form of law, but as making a unique, complex, individual whole. Since historical writing thus began with Herodotus there have been only improvements in this method, greater objectivity, and the inclusion of more of our human interests in a more complex synthesis. While only a genius can accomplish the adequate synthesis, we are forced to undertake the task of showing the complete world movement of history.

Dealing with the Essentials and Non-Essentials of the New History, Professor H. E. Barnes, of Smith College, distinguished the New History as involving a new notion of the scope of history, new methods of teaching it, and new procedures in writing it. Its programme is to be all-inclusive; nothing that took place in the past is to be excluded, though we are not all equally interested in all the facts. Their relative importance is to be determined by the relation to the whole of which they are parts and by their relation to present-day life; in any case to the purpose of the writer. At present we discover a great shift of interest, as appears in the genetic historian's relating of things to the culture of our time, dropping the former stress on military and political history. Culture is explicable by the two factors of man's original nature and the environment which stimulates it. Hence the new history excludes national history and lets the famous divisions of ancient, medieval, and modern be supplanted by palaeolithic, neolithic, and subsequent cultural stages. Such history is science, not art, and obviously the historian's preparatory training must undergo great changes. The study of the

responses of a biochemical entity to a terrestrial environment imposes the need of biological science, behavioristic and psychoanalytic psychology, anthropogeography, and the social sciences other than history, and a greater technical knowledge of the processes of business, industry, transportation, or other previously neglected factors in cultural development.

Of papers whose themes lend themselves to a chronological order, we may mention first that of Professor M. L. W. Laistner, of Cornell University, on Christian of Stavelot's ninth-century commentary on the Gospel according to St. Matthew. He described Christian's sources—the preceding commentaries of St. Jerome and Hrabanus, the *Etymologies* of Isidore, etc.—the indications which may be drawn from his citations of St. Jerome's Latin version of the Bible, the possibility of Irish influences upon his mind, and the extent of his knowledge of Greek.

Professor L. J. Paetow, of California, spoke on John of Garland, professor in the University of Toulouse from 1229 to 1232 and then, for the next twenty years of his life, in the University of Paris, and, from the pages of his poem *De Triumphis Ecclesiae* celebrating the triumphs of the Church over the Mohammedans and the Albigenian heretics, exhibited the ardor with which he sustained the Crusade of Louis IX. as the one war which would permanently end war and usher in peace and felicity here on earth.

Professor Lynn Thorndike, of Columbia University, discussed the Survival of Medieval Intellectual Interests into Early Modern Times. As those external conditions of life that we regard as medieval continued in large part in modern times, so many of the intellectual interests of the Middle Ages continued. Blind adhesion to Aristotle and Galen characterized the sixteenth century as much as those preceding. The Protestant Reformation was far from discarding the medieval Aristotle. The thirteenth-century text-books in various subjects continued to be used in early modern times. The history, especially the intellectual and the local history of the medieval past, was sympathetically studied, often with no marked change of intellectual attitude.<sup>3</sup>

The papers in modern European history pertained to recent periods, with the exception of that of Professor C. J. H. Hayes of Columbia, on Some Contributions of Herder to the Doctrine of Nationalism.<sup>4</sup> Professor F. M. Anderson, of Dartmouth College, in a paper entitled "From Fashoda to the Entente Cordiale: a Ten-

<sup>3</sup> Professor Thorndike's paper is to appear before long in *Speculum*.

<sup>4</sup> To be printed later in this journal.



tative Interpretation", sought to show that diplomatic historians in their search for explanations and motives have relied too much on the correspondence of the diplomats and have neglected public opinion as expressed in the newspapers and reviews. A study of these latter materials for the years 1890 to 1904 gives reason to think that the formation of the Entente Cordiale, which has generally been attributed chiefly to the leading diplomats and statesmen, such as Delcassé and Edward VII., and ascribed to their hatred for Germany, was really due largely to public opinion, and that dislike for Germany, while a factor, did not operate in quite the way usually supposed. Gradual changes of opinion, through the period of the Boer War, the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, and the Russo-Japanese War, were traced in a manner to sustain this opinion.

In the last paper of the session, Professor Bernadotte E. Schmitt, of the University of Chicago, read a review<sup>5</sup> of the first-published volume (volume XI.) of the *British Documents on the Origins of the War*, Mr. J. W. Headlam-Morley's volume of the correspondence of June 28-August 4, 1914. The general opinions he expressed may be summarized thus: that these new Foreign Office documents will not change, in any fundamental particular, the view of British policy long since established, though new light is cast especially by the "minutes" made by officials of the Foreign Office on the documents; that clearly, until the neutrality of Belgium was violated, there was no intention to send a British army to the Continent; and that Sir Edward Grey strove coolly and loyally for peace.

Three of the papers read at Rochester bore on the history of the Near East: first, one on the Origins of the Druze People and Religion, by Professor Philip K. Hitti, of Princeton University. He held that a study of the genealogical tables of their chief feudal families, an investigation of the Arabic dialect spoken by them, and a scrutiny of their religious beliefs would indicate that the modern Druzes of Lebanon are descended from tribes from the Arabian peninsula who sojourned for many generations in the lower valley of the Tigris and Euphrates where they intermarried with the Persians and became impregnated with Manichæan, Gnostic, and Shi'ite beliefs, which prepared them for the reception of the Fatimite incarnational doctrine when it was later preached to them by a Turco-Persian named Darazi. The idea of the incarnation of Deity in the Caliph al-Hakim has obvious relations to Christian doctrine and that of his triumphant return to the idea of the Mahdi in Islam and

<sup>5</sup> Printed in *Current History* for March.

that of the Messiah in Israel. The immediate origins of the Druzes' religion, Professor Hitti showed from its tenets, were to be sought in the many Shi'ite heterodoxies which split early Islam, and the ultimate origins in Neo-Platonic theories, Gnosticism, and Manichaeism.

The second of these papers, by Professor A. H. Lybyer, of Illinois, discussed the Trend of Political Events in Moslem Lands. Since the National Assembly of Turkey banished the House of Osman the Moslem world has been without a caliph. While some movement has been begun toward the restoration of the caliphate, Islamic unity is seen first of all in the efforts made to gain independence of non-Moslem control. To-day, Turkey, Persia, Afghanistan, and the Nejd-Hejaz acknowledge no suzerain, while other regions strive for similar emancipation. The results of the World War have led the Islamic peoples to a more rapid "westernization"; national separatism has been greatly increased, the functions of Church and State have been more clearly discriminated, parliamentary forms have become popular, secular education has been promoted. But in spite of all this, the realities of government in lands not obscured by foreign influence tend toward the monarchical. Conferences on the caliphate have occurred. Finally, a Moslem Congress has been organized with a permanent executive commission and provision for annual meetings.

In the third paper of this group, Professor E. M. Earle, of Columbia University, traced the Origins of Philhellenism in the United States from 1821, when the Greeks of the Morea rose to throw off the Ottoman rule, down to the establishment of Greek independence. American sympathy with the Greek cause was due to widespread reverence for the ancient Hellenes and the theory, widely accepted, that the modern Greeks were the heirs of their blood and traditions, to the heroic struggle of a nation which aspired to establish liberal and republican institutions, and to feeling for a Christian population rising against Moslem rule. Manifestations of friendliness toward the Greek cause took the form of contributions of money, raised by popular subscription; the gift of food and clothing, distributed through American agents; and the enlistment of citizens of the United States in the revolutionary army for service against the Turks. Most of the funds collected were devoted to the relief of non-combatants; the first \$40,000, however, was given directly to the committee in charge of the conduct of the war.

The important topic of the transit of civilization from Europe to America was illustrated by three papers, of which the first, by

Professor Jernegan, discussed the Influence of British and European Universities on American Life during the Colonial Period, in three main particulars. First, in the three periods selected for illustration, it was shown that graduates of British and European universities were largely responsible for events and ideas connected with colonization and administration, and for policies which helped to determine the evolution of political, economic, and social institutions in the colonies. Secondly, the spread of certain religious ideas, such as Puritanism and Pietism, and of the political philosophy which permeated revolutionary thinking, was traced to the influence of certain universities of England and the Continent. Finally, this influence was shown to have affected our colonial colleges in their imitation of forms of government and curriculum.

By common consent, no paper read in any of the sessions was more instructive in content or more delectable in presentation than that of Professor D. R. Fox, of Columbia University, on "Civilization in Transit". As this journal has been given the privilege of printing it before long, and it can hardly be summarized without doing it injustice, we mention simply that, whereas many writers of American history have followed with sympathy and applause the western progress of the man with the axe and the man with the spade, Mr. Fox dwelt on that of the pioneers of ideas, and showed how the transit of professional competence from Europe to America, and westward and outward in America, was marked by four well-defined stages visible alike in medicine, music, pictorial and plastic art, scholarship, and other professional specialties. His suggestive generalizations were applied also to cultural institutions and practices of varied sorts.

Professor Albert Hyma, of the University of Michigan, discussed Dutch Influence on the Development of Civilization in America, deprecating the attribution to Dutch influence of many contributions derived equally or more largely from the civilization of other countries, but justly declaring the superiority of the Dutch to their neighbors of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in the fields of science, art, theology, and social reform, and urging a higher valuation than has commonly been ascribed to the Dutch contribution to the revival of learning and to religious reform at the time of the Reformation.

Among the papers devoted to American history that of Professor W. W. Sweet, of DePauw University, on Significant Factors in the History of American Churches,<sup>6</sup> noted four conditions which had

<sup>6</sup> Printed in the *Journal of Religion* for January.

large significance in determining this history. Colonial churches, in the first place, were ruled by radicals who found in America a fruitful field for experiment. The result was the development of a variety of sects whose struggle for existence did much to bring about the separation of Church and State. Secondly, parallel conditions existing between religious and political history influenced Church and State in similar ways. Thus, sectionalism characterized both at the same time. The frontier, too, played its part in developing a distinct type of missionary effort through revivals, camp meetings, and the small denominational college. Finally, slavery was responsible for a schism in the churches which has continued to the present time. Growing out of the institution of slavery, also, has been the rise of negro churches since the Civil War.

Under the title, *The High Tide of French Conquest in North America*, Professor G. A. Wood, of Lake Forest University, told the story of French progress in the colonial field from 1748 to 1760. Professor Claude H. Van Tyne, of Michigan, in an entertaining but solidly based paper on *Preparedness in the Revolutionary Period* discussed the absolute lack of preparedness on the side of the American forces and the defective preparation of the British forces sent to America. Because of these conditions, which the speaker presented in convincing detail, the battles and campaigns of that war engaged small numbers of men in comparison to what might have been put into the field and were attended with results which, while investing with high credit those who upheld their cause with loyalty, endurance, and courage, reflected little glory on the mass of those who nominally participated.

A sequel of the Revolution was carefully considered in a paper on the *St. Lawrence in the Boundary Settlement of 1783*, by Mr. George W. Brown, of the University of Toronto. The thesis of this paper was that provision in the Treaty of 1783 granting free navigation of the St. Lawrence, as of the Mississippi, was omitted not because its commercial importance to both Great Britain and the United States was not understood, but because of the opposition aroused in England by the proposal to modify the Navigation Acts. The interest of both countries lay in harmonizing their claims in the West against France and Spain. Jay also argued that Great Britain would have no need of possessing western lands if she were given free access to them, through the Mississippi and St. Lawrence, in exchange for reciprocal freedom of trade which was keenly desired by the United States. So the first articles included a clause that free access and equality of duties should be accorded to the merchants

of both nations in all rivers, lakes, and harbors belonging to each country. But the clause was not included in the treaty, because of the unwillingness of England to revise the Navigation Laws in the interest of the United States.

In American history since 1800 there was only one paper, but that an entertaining and moving one, in which Professor C. A. Duniway, of Carleton College, presented personal aspects of migration in 1852 from Illinois to Oregon, based chiefly on an unpublished manuscript journal which had been kept by a romantic but clever girl of seventeen, and had descended in the speaker's family. It recorded a journey of 2400 miles made by an Illinois family, with ox-drawn wagons, from Groveland in that state to the French Prairie in Oregon. The literary flavor and human interest of this document were shown by the reading of various selections from its daily entries. Dr. Duniway added his own conclusions as to what in the record was typical of the mass of such migration.

More than the usual amount of interest centred about the annual business meeting of the Association, and the luncheon also devoted to business, namely, the business of the Endowment Fund. The session was presided over by Professor Munro; Dr. L. F. Stock, of the Carnegie Institution of Washington, officiated in the place of the secretary. A pamphlet containing seven reports—the annual report of the treasurer, that of the Committee on Publications, that of the Committee on Membership, that of the International Committee of Historical Sciences, that of the Association's delegates in the American Council of Learned Societies, that of the seventh annual meeting of the Union Académique Internationale, and the preliminary report of the Committee on History Teaching in the Schools—had been mailed beforehand to all members of the Association, preparing the way adequately for intelligent action in the meeting itself. The secretary's report, which was first read, showed a membership of 3199, a gain of 237 from the preceding year. Of this total number, 244 were life members, 280 were institutions. The Council has provided that any library or institution by paying \$100, the amount of the life membership fee, may receive membership for twenty-five years without payment of annual dues.

The treasurer's report showed net receipts, not including contributions to the Endowment Fund, of \$16,120, to which should be added \$6000 supplied by the Commonwealth Fund for the work of the Committee on History Teaching, and \$5000 received from the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial for the work of the International Committee of Historical Sciences. Against this total of \$27,120



may be set the net disbursements of \$24,946. A summary of the treasurer's report, and of the budget voted by the Council, is, as usual, appended to this chronicle, and the report in full may be found in the pamphlet already mentioned. The actual amount of the Endowment Fund, reckoning it on the par value of the securities in which all but its last receipts have been invested, was reported at \$96,465.

The information which was given out at the luncheon respecting the progress of the endowment campaign was supplemented by a folder distributed at that time. One of the most gratifying results reported was the surprisingly extensive publicity which newspapers in every part of the country had very willingly, and sometimes quite voluntarily and unexpectedly, given to the Association, its achievements and present effort. All this may be taken as convincing evidence of a rising popular interest in history in this country. It should be recorded with appreciation that the Rochester newspapers gave fuller and better accounts of the papers read and of the doings of the annual convention than it has ever received before in any city where meetings have been held. It was reported that committees for pushing the campaign had been organized in most of the states, and that the amount paid in and subscribed now runs to about \$120,000, pledged by 443 persons, of whom there were sixteen that subscribed or gave \$1000 or more. Professor S. J. Buck, who had labored very efficiently as executive secretary through nearly the whole year of 1926, was compelled by his obligations to the University of Minnesota and the Minnesota Historical Society to resign from that office at this time. Professor Harry J. Carman, of Columbia University, was appointed in his place. Columbia University continues generously to furnish quarters for the organization. The Association appropriated \$5000 for continuance of the campaign in 1927.

Professor P. J. Treat presented a brief report for the Pacific Coast Branch, at whose latest annual meeting Professor C. L. Goodwin was elected president. To enable the Branch to do more printing of papers read before it, an appropriation of \$400 was made. The Historical Manuscripts Commission was, as usual, obliged to report suspension of its activities, so far as printing is concerned, until the Austin Papers are out of the way, when, it is hoped, there will be opportunity for printing the Commission's selection from the letters received by John C. Calhoun. The Committee on the Justin Winsor Prize recommended that it should be awarded to Lowell J. Ragatz, of the George Washington University, for his monograph on "The Decline of the British West Indies, 1763-1833", with honor-

able mention of Professor J. W. Pratt, of the University of Buffalo, for his printed volume on *The Expansionists of 1812*.

To the surprise of the Council, the Committee on the George Louis Beer Prize was obliged to report that in the year 1926 no essays had been submitted in competition for this prize. In view of the many evidences of American interest in the field which the prize represents, the only way of accounting for this failure is to suppose that the existence and character of the prize are not sufficiently well known. It is a prize of \$250, based on a bequest by the noted scholar whose name it bears, and is awarded annually for the best work on "any phase of European international history since 1895". The competition is limited to citizens of the United States and to works that shall be submitted to the Association, either in manuscript or in print, before April 1 of the respective years. It is designed especially to encourage those who have not published previously any considerable work nor obtained an established reputation.

The Committee on Bibliography reported that twenty of the twenty-six chapters of the long-expected *Guide to Historical Literature* are in type. There were also reports from the representatives of the Association at the Panama Congress of last spring, from its representatives in the Social Science Research Council, concerning fellowships and grants, and respecting the proposed *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*, for which Professor E. R. A. Seligman has raised the necessary funds and of which he is to be editor.

Of new committees, one is to consider reorganization of the secretariat in case of large increase of endowment. Another, whose operations will be of interest to many members, the committee to administer the revolving fund of \$25,000 for publication supplied by the Carnegie Corporation, made a preliminary explanation through its chairman, Professor Edward P. Cheyney, setting forth the expectation that the money would be spent preferably for books which evince considerable maturity, and which, perhaps, though of recognized value, have been awaiting publication for some time, or for essays which have won prizes of the Association, or for instruments of historical work, such as bibliographies or documents. Excellence of form will be regarded, the grantors desiring to provide for a really successful diffusion of knowledge. Proposals should be sent to the chairman of the committee, and should give some account of the author and of the genesis of the proposed book. Notes or summaries of reports from several other committees, operating in the international field, have been given on pages 381-384 of our last number.

No report excited more interest than that of Professor A. C. Krey's committee, of historians and representatives of allied sciences, on *History and Other Social Studies in the Schools*.<sup>7</sup> It is available as a pamphlet of forty-one pages, but its general drift may here be summarized. In the belief that the increased social maturity of school children, the increase in school attendance, and various changes in school administration have created new problems of mass education in the social studies, Professor Krey, as chairman of a committee operating with a subvention from the Commonwealth Fund, and upon the basis provided by the History Inquiry of 1924, had spent the year in making a general survey of the position of history and other social studies in the schools. He reported a large but thoughtful plan for detailed study of the subject, based on the assumptions that history and other social studies contribute to one of the main functions of the schools, education for effective social membership; and that the public school system now extends from pre-primary grades through the junior college, and that the emphasis of the proposed study should be placed upon an analysis of the social studies throughout the whole of this system, rather than on an analysis of a particular segment or year of instruction. The study advocated is to comprise a collection of general statistical information, the determination of specific objectives, the organization of content, in the light of these objectives, for teaching purposes, the methods of instruction and testing, and of the preparation of teachers. An extensive personnel and five years of work were required by this plan. Means for its execution are now being sought.

Resolutions were adopted by the Association expressing to Congress its appreciation for the legislative provision thus far made toward making available the papers concerning the Territories now preserved in the federal archives in Washington, and urging the importance of providing for their publication; and resolutions commending to the attention of Congress the need of bringing to speedy completion the edition of the *Journals of the Continental Congress* prepared by the Library of Congress.

On recommendation of the Council it was voted to hold the next annual meeting in Washington; the dates will be December 28, 29, and 30. The Council had also received with favor suggestions that the Association accept the invitation of the Indiana Historical Society to meet in Indianapolis in 1928, and the invitations of the University of North Carolina and of Duke University to meet in North Carolina in 1929. Dr. Henry Osborn Taylor was elected

<sup>7</sup> Printed, almost complete, in the *Historical Outlook* for March.

president of the Association for the ensuing year, Professor James H. Breasted first vice-president, Dr. James Harvey Robinson second vice-president. Professor Bassett and Dr. Moore were re-elected secretary and treasurer, respectively. Three new members were elected to the Council, Mr. James T. Adams, Mr. Dwight W. Morrow, and Professor Payson J. Treat. The Committee on Nominations elected for the ensuing year consists of Messrs. Solon J. Buck, chairman, Charles W. Hackett, Percy A. Martin, Louis M. Sears, and Miss Lucy E. Textor. The acting secretary was instructed to send the thanks of the Association to the University of Rochester and others who contributed there to the great success of the annual meeting. The term of Professor Guy S. Ford as a member of the Board of Editors of this journal having expired, Professor Henry E. Bourne was elected by the Council in his place, and later was elected chairman by the Board. A full list of committee assignments for 1927 follows this article.

J. F. J.

#### STATEMENT OF RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS

##### RECEIPTS

Annual dues .....	\$13,081.20
American Historical Review, contribution .....	2,000.00
Endowment Fund contribution, including life membership dues .....	25,275.25
Special contribution for endowment campaign expenses ....	10,000.00
Registration fees .....	225.00
Royalties .....	74.16
Publications .....	224.25
Miscellaneous .....	.23

##### Interest:

Endowment fund .....	\$2,332.00	
Andrew D. White Fund .....	72.28	
George L. Beer Prize Fund .....	305.00	
Carnegie Revolving Publication Fund .....	125.00	
William A. Dunning Fund .....	125.00	
Bank deposits .....	183.51	3,142.79
Grant from Commonwealth Fund .....		6,000.00
Grant from Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial .....		5,000.00
Grant from Carnegie Corporation for Revolving Publication Fund .....		25,000.00
Total receipts .....	\$90,022.88	
Cash on deposit, December 1, 1925 .....		10,127.52
		<u>\$100,150.40</u>

## DISBURSEMENTS

Secretary and Treasurer .....	\$3,712.40
Pacific Coast Branch .....	34.98

## Committees of Management:

Nominations .....	\$41.75	
Membership .....	19.87	
Programme .....	328.62	
Local Arrangements .....	50.00	
Executive Council .....	77.28	
Endowment .....	22,458.97	
Treasurer's contingent fund .....	11.70	22,988.19

## Historical Activities:

Bibliography .....	719.39	
Publications .....	526.76	
Bibliography of Modern British History .....	152.00	
Writings on American History .....	200.00	
American Council of Learned Societies .....	193.41	
History Teaching in Schools .....	5,791.06	
International Committee of Historical Sciences .....	5,204.95	
Handbook of American Historical Societies ..	116.83	12,904.40

## Prizes:

Herbert Baxter Adams .....	200.00	
George Louis Beer .....	250.00	450.00

American Historical Review .....	7,565.20	
William A. Dunning Fund .....	91.66	
Carnegie Revolving Publication Fund investments .....	25,317.07	
American Historical Review Fund investments .....	2,072.64	

Total disbursements .....	\$75,136.54	
Cash on deposit, November 30, 1926 .....	25,013.86	
		<u>\$100,150.40</u>

## ENDOWMENT FUNDS

	Cost	Par Value
Principal account, invested .....	\$29,160.50	\$29,200.00
Herbert Baxter Adams Prize Fund .....	4,900.00	5,000.00
Andrew D. White Fund .....	1,183.00	1,200.00
George L. Beer Prize Fund .....	5,002.50	5,000.00
William A. Dunning Fund .....	Bequest	5,000.00
American Historical Review Fund .....	8,192.50	8,500.00
Carnegie Revolving Publication Fund .....	24,935.75	25,000.00
		<u>\$78,900.00</u>
Funds awaiting investment .....		17,565.62
Total .....		<u>\$96,465.62</u>



BUDGET, 1927

Receipts:

Annual dues .....	\$14,000.00
Interest on endowment and on bank balances .....	5,000.00
Royalties .....	50.00
Publications .....	100.00
Registration fees .....	200.00
Government appropriation for printing Report .....	7,000.00
Grant from Commonwealth Fund for Committee on History Teaching .....	3,000.00
Miscellaneous .....	25.00

\$29,375.00

Disbursements:

Office of Secretary and Treasurer .....	\$3,700.00
Pacific Coast Branch .....	400.00
Committees of Management:	
Committee on Nominations .....	100.00
Committee on Membership .....	100.00
Committee on Programme .....	500.00
Committee on Local Arrangements .....	150.00
Executive Council .....	500.00
Endowment Fund .....	5,000.00
Treasurer's contingent fund .....	200.00

Historical Activities:

Committee on Bibliography .....	500.00
Committee on Bibliography of Modern British History .....	500.00
Committee on Publications .....	700.00
Printing Annual Report .....	7,000.00
Conference of Historical Societies .....	50.00
Public Archives Commission .....	200.00
Writings on American History .....	400.00
American Council of Learned Societies ....	220.00
Committee on Historical Research in Colleges .....	50.00
Committee on History Teaching in the Schools .....	3,000.00
Delegates in the International Committee of Historical Sciences .....	200.00
Committee on Carnegie Revolving Publication Fund .....	100.00
Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences .....	100.00

Prizes:

Justin Winsor Prize, 1926 .....	200.00
American Historical Review .....	8,000.00

\$31,370.00

## OFFICERS AND COMMITTEES OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

*President*, Henry O. Taylor, 135 East 66th St., New York.

*First Vice-President*, James H. Breasted, University of Chicago, Chicago.

*Second Vice-President*, James H. Robinson, 924 West End Ave., New York.

*Secretary*, John S. Bassett, Smith College, Northampton, Mass.<sup>8</sup>

*Treasurer*, Charles Moore, Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.<sup>8</sup>

*Assistant Secretary-Treasurer*, Patty W. Washington, 1140 Woodward Building, Washington, D. C.

*Editor*, Allen R. Boyd, Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.

*Executive Council* (in addition to the above-named officers):

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Edward Channing  
Jean Jules Jusserand  
Charles H. Haskins

Edward P. Cheyney  
Charles M. Andrews  
Dana C. Munro<sup>9</sup>  
James T. Adams  
Frank M. Anderson  
Albert J. Beveridge  
William K. Boyd  
Laurence M. Larson  
Dwight W. Morrow  
Nellie Neilson  
Payson J. Treat

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## THE BLIGHT OF PESTILENCE ON EARLY MODERN CIVILIZATION

THE Black Death of 1348 was apparently by far the most fatal epidemic in the annals of Europe, with incalculable effects upon the flourishing civilization which had marked the preceding twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Enormous as was the toll of human life which was taken at its first appearance in Europe, this proved to be no assurance of future immunity. Though we are familiar with the statement that there were subsequent recurrences of the plague, we perhaps do not sufficiently realize the pest-ridden condition of Europe in late medieval and early modern times. Like a cancer the fell disease ate at the vitals of European civilization. Like an incubus it weighed upon the human imagination and spirit. Like some crawling venomous worm it has left its foul trail across the face of history. In many parts of Europe the population seems not again to have reached the density of the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries until after the economic and industrial revolution of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Schools closed, and law-courts adjourned post-haste at the approach of the dread disease. All sorts of human activities were frequently interrupted, interfered with, and enfeebled. Thus the period that we have been too apt to glorify as an age of renaissance, of reformation, of discovery, was in many ways—for we must also remember the insane wars of religion and of ambitious monarchs—a time of setback, stagnation, distress, and abject misery.

It needs no very extensive reading or profound study to find many indications of the ever present importance of the pest from the fourteenth even to the eighteenth century. Once one begins to look for such signs, one seems to find them in almost every book on the period to which one turns. Perhaps it is in part because the late medieval and early modern period has been so commonly viewed from the standpoint of the rise of monarchy, kings being the best protected of all persons from the plague, that insufficient notice has been taken of the passing of ordinary humanity "at this poor dying rate". But when we turn to local histories of towns or provinces, to the records of schools and individuals, not to mention the history of medicine, we find many marks of the ravages of pestilence. It is the purpose of the present article to give some specimens of this evidence which seems to be available in such abundance. Of course,



other epidemics and contagions may sometimes have been confused with the bubonic plague, but in any case we are not so much interested now in tracing the effects of one particular form of disease as in noting the great part played by pestilence in general in the history of the time.

As the westward sweep of the Huns in the fourth and fifth centuries had been followed by a great pestilence during the reign of Justinian, after which the Byzantine Empire hardly again attained such wealth, prosperity, and power; so the westward sweep of the Mongols in the thirteenth century was followed by the Black Death in the fourteenth. In part it may have been responsible for the expansion of the Ottoman Turks and the final decline of civilization in the Balkan peninsula and Asia Minor. Those regions witnessed nine great outbreaks of the plague between 1348 and 1431, and "these dates coincide with the most aggressive period of Ottoman conquest".<sup>1</sup> In the West the great decrease in population may explain the triumph of centralized monarchy over local government and enterprise, and the rise of capital with the concentration of wealth in a few hands. But let us turn to more particular and demonstrable effects.

From Petrarch to Erasmus, whose respective experiences with the plague are perhaps too familiar to require repetition, we may find humanists bemoaning the effects or dodging the course of the plague. Dominicus Bandinus, a grammarian of Arezzo, in his work on Peoples, Buildings, Provinces, Cities, Islands, not only informs us that in the Black Death of 1348 he lost both his parents and all his brothers and sisters, but also mentions plagues of 1364, 1379, 1383, 1399, and 1400, in the last of which he lost his son.<sup>2</sup> Passing on to another generation and century and to a different field of learning, we may note the untimely death of Ludovicus Pontanus who had already made a great legal reputation for himself when, at scarcely thirty years of age, he died of the plague at the Council of Basel in 1439 within thirty-six hours after he fell ill. Though born in Spoleto, in the prologue of one of his works he speaks of himself as a Roman, and he is usually called Romanus, partly perhaps because of his proficiency in Roman law. Before he took up his

<sup>1</sup> H. A. Gibbons, *The Foundation of the Ottoman Empire* (1916), p. 96.

<sup>2</sup> See the account of the manuscript, S. Michael de Muriano, Venetiis, 22, fifteenth century, in Mittarelli's *Catalogue* of 1779. The *De Populis, de Aedificiis, de Civitatibus, de Insulis*, formed the fourth part of an encyclopaedic work, *Fons Memorabilium Universi*. As a rule I shall not treat of the effects of the Black Death in the fourteenth century, as its effect on men of learning then is being investigated by one of my students, Miss Anna Campbell.

residence in Rome, he had studied law at the universities of Perugia and Padua, and he had taught law at Siena before he was called to Rome. There he was not merely a professor, but Pope Eugenius IV. made him a protonotary and consistorial advocate. He was a close friend of Panormitanus<sup>3</sup> whom he accompanied to the council. Aeneas Sylvius, later Pope Pius II., both composed a poetical epitaph of over twenty lines in honor of Pontanus and, in his prose history of the Council of Basel, devoted a long passage to an account of his marvellous genius. Pontanus remembered everything that he had ever heard or read. Instead of citing laws by their opening words in the customary manner, he would quote the entire text from memory. He was a man worthy not of Rome merely but of the sky and to whom it seemed that no one of mortals was comparable.<sup>4</sup> Though scarcely thirty at the time of his death, he had already written a commentary on the Code and Digest, a volume of *Consilia* and another of *Singularia*, as well as *Repetitiones* and *Responsa*.<sup>5</sup> Thus the plague cut short a career not merely of great promise but of great achievement. Another legal authority to die of the plague was Raphael Fulgosius in 1427 after teaching law for twenty years at Padua.<sup>6</sup> It has been disputed whether Johann Müller of Königsberg, whence his Latin name, Regiomontanus, the great mathematician, died at Rome in 1475-1476 of plague or whether he was assassinated by the sons of George of Trebizond, whose errors in translating Ptolemy he had mercilessly laid bare. Giovanni Cotta da Verona (1481-1509), a poet whose admirers represented him as a second Catullus, died of the pest on his way to Rome to beg Julius II. to liberate his protector, Bartolommeo d'Alviano.<sup>7</sup> Robert Gaguin, the leading name in French humanism of the fifteenth century, had more than one encounter with the plague. In 1466-1467 he remained at his studies while it raged in

<sup>3</sup> Otherwise Nicolaus Siculus, archbishop of Palermo. He was a great figure at the Council of Basel. Earlier, in 1425, he had taught canon law at Siena.

<sup>4</sup> Lib. I. *de Conc. Basil.*: "erat memor omnium quae ipse unquam aut legisset aut audisset, nec ut ceteri jurisconsulti principia legum in disputando allegabat sed quasi codicem legeret sic textum memoriter recitabat. Vir non Roma tantum sed coelo dignus et cui nemo mortalium comparandus videtur; non admirationi sed stupori futurus omnibus si ut aequum videbatur aetatis tempora duplicasset."

<sup>5</sup> For Pontanus I have followed the accounts of Fichardus (Joannes, Francofurtensis), *Vitae Recentiorum Jurisconsultorum* (Padua, 1565), fols. 12r-13r; and Giuseppe Caraffa, *De Gymnasio Romano* (Rome, 1751), pp. 401-402.

<sup>6</sup> A note added to a Venetian manuscript, S. Marco IX. 20, informs us of his death. S. Marco IX. 5 contains his glosses on parts of the *Digest*; S. Marco IX. 57 and IX. 206 contain *Consilia* by him.

<sup>7</sup> Fr. Fiorentino, *Il Risorgimento Filosofico nel Quattrocento* (Naples, 1885), pp. 270-271.

Paris; in 1484 it obliged him to retire to his country house; in 1499 most of the doctors of decretals left the plague-stricken city, but Gaguin as dean stayed on.<sup>8</sup>

Aeneas Sylvius had closer contacts with the pest than his passages just mentioned on the untimely death therefrom of Pontanus. As he tells us in the *Commentaries* written after he had become pope, he was one of a family of twenty-two children. There were ten still in the home when pestilence killed all except himself and two sisters.<sup>9</sup> When Aeneas was in Germany about 1438, he saw famished children in Bavaria fight like dogs for bits of bread that were thrown to them. Not long after followed a very fatal plague which infested all Germany, killing many prelates as well as the aforesaid Pontanus, called "the light of the law". At Basel more than three hundred bodies were buried in a day. Aeneas lost his dearest friends, Julianus Romanus and Arnoldus Theutonicus, remaining with them to the end. Then he himself became infected and told his comrades to leave him and save themselves. One, whom he names, took this advice, but others were more constant. Aeneas naturally wished to procure the attendance of the best doctor possible. There were two celebrated physicians then present in Basel: one was a learned graduate of Paris but irreligious; the other was a pious but uneducated German. "Aeneas preferred piety to science", and was cured in this wise. Since the left side of the groin was affected, he was bled from the vein of his left foot. He was forbidden to sleep for an entire day and part of the night, and drank a powder, the composition of which his physician refused to reveal. Pieces of a green frog and bits of damp Cretan earth were applied to the infected places. The immediate effect of this treatment was to make Aeneas feel worse; he called in a priest to hear his confession, and the report spread that he was dead. But after six days he recovered and paid his doctor six pieces of gold. The conscientious physician protested that the fee was too large and that he would treat six poor patients gratis in return.<sup>10</sup> There are yet other references to the pest in Pius's *Commentaries*. About 1450 it was raging so in Prague that the national gathering of the Bohemians had to be transferred to another town.<sup>11</sup> And after he became pope, on

<sup>8</sup> See the *Notice Biographique* prefixed to Louis Thuasne's edition of his letters and orations: *Roberti Gaguini Epistolae et Orationes*, I. (1903).

<sup>9</sup> *Commentarii Pii II.*, edition of 1614, liber I., p. 2, "Ex ea Silvius duodeviginti liberos sustulit, non tamen ultra decem simul aggregavit; quos urgente inopia Corisiani quod est oppidum vallis Urciae nutrit: sed omnes tamen iniqua lues extinxit, duabus tamen sororibus Laudomia et Carhenia cum Aenea superstitis."

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 7-8.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 17.

one occasion the pest drove the papal court away from Viterbo.<sup>12</sup>

Let us take another glimpse at the effects of the pest on learning in the case of the circle of German humanists and men of letters in and about Strasbourg during the closing fifteenth and early sixteenth century. Peter Schott was forced to discontinue temporarily his legal studies at Bologna by the outbreak of the pest there in 1478, and to postpone his visit to Rome for a year because of pestilence there in the winter of 1480-1481, while the report that plague was raging in Paris kept him from going there in 1483 to pursue the study of theology. Alas! all this avoidance at best but slightly delayed his end; in 1490 he died of an epidemic at the age of only thirty-two.<sup>13</sup> The very next humanist listed in Schmidt's *Literary History of Alsace*, Sebastian Murr, died of the pest in 1495.<sup>14</sup> Jodocus Gallus (1459-1517), having in 1470 lost several members of his family in a pest, was received as a boy into a Franciscan convent and educated by that order, which first sent him to school at Schlestadt, then to their convent at Basel, and then to the University of Heidelberg.<sup>15</sup> Jacques Han died in 1510 of an older contagious disease, leprosy. It required the special intervention of the Emperor Maximilian on his behalf to induce the town magistrates to relax the rigid rule, that all lepers must go to the lazaret-house outside town, sufficiently to allow him to continue his studies in his own house under strict quarantine.<sup>16</sup> Thomas Wolf (1475-1509), who in 1506 had been very ill from syphilis (*morbus Gallicus*) according to his own statement, died suddenly at Rome at the age of only thirty-four while on his second visit to Italy.<sup>17</sup> In his Commentary on the Fourteenth Psalm he had attributed "these calamities, these new diseases, these pests, these sudden deaths, these revolutions in empires that frighten us so", to the growing secularism of the age and to the increasing tendency to deprive the clergy of the property, immunities, and honor which were their ancient due.<sup>18</sup> An outbreak of the pest at Strasbourg in 1511 forced the printer who was publishing a book for Matthias Ringman (Philesius) to move his press to Baden and issue the work there. In the same year Ringman dedicated another publication, four plays of Plautus, to a man who had fled from the plague at Remiremont. And in the same

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, lib. VIII., p. 211.

<sup>13</sup> For these facts in Schott's career see Charles Schmidt, *Histoire Littéraire de l'Alsace à la Fin du XV<sup>e</sup> et au Commencement du XVI<sup>e</sup> Siècle*, tome II. (1879), pp. 6-7, 10, 12, 32.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 39.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 41.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 49-50.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 78, 85-86.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 83.

year he himself died at only twenty-nine of tuberculosis which may have been aggravated by the prevailing pest.<sup>19</sup> In the winter of 1527-1528 the students of the school at Hagenau were dispersed by the pestilence, but this enforced vacation gave the master, Gebwiler, the necessary leisure to push two works on to publication.<sup>20</sup>

The Brethren of the Common Life, to whom so large a part has often been assigned in the religious and intellectual life of the pre-Reformation period, did not remain untouched by the plague. In fact, their founder, Gerard Groot, had died of it in 1384 while yet in his early forties. Visiting the bedside of one of his followers who was plague-stricken, he touched the patient's pulse and immediately felt the contagion ascend from the tips of his fingers to his armpit and began to sicken. Again in 1419 some of the brethren died from plague when it broke out in Zutphen, and in the obituaries of members of the order given by Ralph Dier de Mudén are several cases of death from the pest.<sup>21</sup>

But perhaps the most impressive single source for the disastrous effect of the plague upon humanists and men of learning is the work of Giovan Pietro Bolzani of Belluno (1477-1558) upon the misfortunes of Italian men of letters of his own time, especially in connection with the sack of Rome in 1527.<sup>22</sup> Of some one hundred and eleven persons of whom he treats no less than fourteen died of the pest. These include Hermolaus Barbarus, Franciscus de Accoltis, bishop of Ancona, Antonius Marosticus, many of whose writings left in manuscript had to be burned to avoid contagion, as was also the case with Christopher Batti of Parma. Another man, who had tutored Giulio de' Medici in grammar and oratory the year before he became Pope Clement VII., contracted the plague by returning to his infected house, where servants had died of the pest, in order to rescue his writings. Other fatalities were Rodericus Lusitanus, a mathematician of note and Greek scholar; Josiphon, son of the physician of Julius II. and a student of philosophy,

<sup>19</sup> Schmidt, *op. cit.*, II. 127-129.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 170.

<sup>21</sup> *Scriptum Rudolphi Dier de Mudén de Magistro Gherardo Grote, Domino Florencio, et Multis Aliis Devotis Fratribus* (published by G. Dumbar, *Analecta sive Vetera aliquot Scripta Inedita*, Deventer, 1719), I. 10, 77-78, etc.

<sup>22</sup> *Ioannis Pierii Valeriani Bellunensis de Litteratorum Infelicitate Libri Duo*, first printed at Venice, 1620. I have used the reprint from this edition with further notes and additions by Sir Egerton Brydges (Geneva, 1821). References to the plague are also numerous in the *Lives of Illustrious Men of the Fifteenth Century* of Vespasiano da Bisticci, the Florentine manuscript dealer. See *The Vespasiano Memoirs*, now first translated by W. G. and Emily Waters (1926), pp. 35, 52, 271, 274, 279, 310, 369, 422.



mathematics, Greek, and Hebrew; Julius Doionus, who taught medicine for a while at Padua; Laomedon Tardolus, a young jurist of promise; Dominicus Sarratonius, a philosopher and mathematician of Venice; and Georgius Sauromanus, a German scholar then at Rome.

In order to obtain some idea of the disturbance wrought by the plague in early modern times in what is now France, let us first begin from the year 1450 an examination of Devic and Vaissette's monumental history of Languedoc<sup>23</sup> in search of signs of the plague's ravages in that region. Since this history was based largely upon the official records of the local Parlement and Estates, our findings will be similarly limited. They are, nevertheless, sufficiently impressive. In 1451 the Archbishop of Toulouse died of the plague, and because of it the court of justice at Nîmes had to be transferred to Bagnols from May, 1450, to February, 1451.<sup>24</sup> Eight years later, when the Estates of Languedoc were asked for grants of taxes, they complained that a third of the population had lacked bread for three years past, and that during the last decade the pest had reduced the population one-third.<sup>25</sup> In 1463 a fire that started in the house of a baker consumed three-fourths of the city of Toulouse. The enraged citizens condemned the baker and his wife to death, and, although they were pardoned by the king, Louis XI., who chanced to be present at the time, they died of fright. Louis, indeed, acted on this occasion in a fashion unusually to his credit, for he is further said, not only to have been moved to tears by the fire's ravages, but, under the stress of the emotion of the moment, to have exempted the city from the *taille* for one hundred years. The misery occasioned by the fire was perhaps responsible for a recurrence of the plague in September of the same year which forced the Parlement to adjourn its sittings from Toulouse to Béziers.<sup>26</sup> In 1465 the pestilence compelled the courts of justice in the sénéchaussée of Beaucaire to suspend sittings for seven or eight months.<sup>27</sup> In 1472 it obliged the Parlement to retire to Albi, and then, after only three days spent there, to move on to Réalmont. In 1474 the Parlement was again compelled to take to flight twice,

<sup>23</sup> Cl. Devic and J. Vaissette, *Histoire Générale de Languedoc*. In the new and enlarged edition of 1889, volume XI., with which we begin, corresponds to volume V. of the original edition. My following citations, however, will be by book and chapter, and so correspond to either edition.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, bk. 35, ch. 19.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, ch. 31.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, ch. 45.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, ch. 50.

while at Toulouse the plague was accompanied by famine.<sup>28</sup> In 1478 the Estates had to meet in a small town because all the large ones were plague-stricken, and at their meeting of 1482 they made allusion to the poverty and misery of the pest-ridden land.<sup>29</sup>

The sixteenth century told the same tale. Nîmes suffered from some terrible contagion in 1501, and troops spread it to Montpellier in 1503. Meanwhile, in 1502, the pest desolated both Provence and Languedoc. The Parlement had to leave Toulouse, but the pest followed it to Muret, then to Lavaur, then to Gaillac. Finally the judges took refuge at Grenade-sur-la-Garonne. By November the pest had stopped and they returned once more to Toulouse. But in 1506 three thousand persons died of the plague at Toulouse, and the Parlement finally had to abandon the city. Again in 1521-1522 there was pest, especially at Toulouse, and followed by famine. This time the Parlement did not return until 1523. Once more in 1527 came plague and famine which continued into the following year, with Parlement finding a refuge only at Grenade-sur-la-Garonne.<sup>30</sup> Thus it went through the century, with several years of famine and pest following the Wars of Religion at the beginning of the seventeenth century.<sup>31</sup> Then in 1629-1630 some 5500 persons died of the plague at Montauban, and 50,000 in the next year at Toulouse, though it would seem that this figure must be exaggerated.<sup>32</sup>

That the menace of the plague continued in southern France into the eighteenth century is indicated by the fact that the holder of the bishopric of Nîmes from 1710 to 1731, in a sermon delivered in the cathedral when the pest was threatening, assured his flock that he would not desert them.<sup>33</sup> Or in a manuscript at Avignon we may read "A Journal of What Happened" in that town "from the time of the last pest beginning August 14, 1721, and ending January 31, 1723".<sup>34</sup> It was the prevalence of plague at Marseilles in 1720-1721 and the fear lest it spread to London that led Defoe to write his *Journal of the Plague Year* recording the great plague in London in 1665. In the early eighteenth century at Avignon when land was set aside for a botanical garden which had hitherto been reserved for those afflicted with the plague, it was provided that

<sup>28</sup> Devic and Vaissette, *op. cit.*, bk. 35, ch. 74.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, chs. 82, 86.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, bk. 36, chs. 47, 51, 59, bk. 37, chs. 8, 23.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, bk. 42, ch. 24.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, bk. 43, ch. 40.

<sup>33</sup> Dreux du Radier, *Bibliothèque Historique et Critique du Poitou* (Paris, 1754), IV. 472.

<sup>34</sup> Avignon MS. 2793 (fonds Requien), eighteenth century, 133 fols.

they might still have the use of it whenever pestilence invaded the city, while the university should use it for botanical purposes the rest of the time.<sup>35</sup>

Turning from Languedoc to other regions of France and going back again to 1451 as a starting-point, we may note in the case of Burgundy some instances of the measures of police and medical regulation that were evoked by the repeated menace of the plague. Similar measures were adopted sooner or later elsewhere, but the whole subject is too vast for us to more than touch on here. In 1452 the dyers were ordered to carry on their trade outside of Dijon in order to avoid putrefaction within the town. In 1457 it was decreed that the bodies of strangers who died of the pest and those of persons who had been hanged must be buried promptly. In 1467 tramps were expelled from town. The year before, a committee of doctors had drawn up a treatise of preventive medicine against the plague. From that time on at Dijon there was police regulation aiming at the isolation of contagious cases and the suppression of beggars, a class especially likely to harbor and spread the pest. There were also measures of sanitation and hygiene directed against dung-heaps, washing soiled linen within the town, emptying slops in the street or burning straw mattresses there, and against keeping pigs, pigeons, and the like. Infected houses were to be fumigated; in some cases the furniture was to be burned. The slaughter of animals and sale of meat were also regulated. Gradually there was developed a special personnel to care for those having the plague, and we hear of special "apothecaries of the pest". Plate VI. of Baudot's history of pharmacy in Burgundy shows us "Le Médecin de Peste" in protective armor with a baton to keep off the public in one hand, and a box of perfumes, no doubt intended to keep off the pest, in the other.<sup>36</sup> In the seventeenth century the pest was still one of the chief matters treated in the statutes of the gild of apothecaries.<sup>37</sup>

In the province of Berry there were outbreaks of the plague in 1458, in 1474-1475, and so on at intervals into the seventeenth century.<sup>38</sup> When on July 25, 1580, news came to Bourges that Paris was afflicted with the plague, the doctors, apothecaries, surgeons, and barbers were promptly convened. They reported that the sick were numerous in Bourges, but that as yet there were no cases of the

<sup>35</sup> L. Bardinot, *Universitatis Avenionensis Historica Adumbratio* (1880), p. 45.

<sup>36</sup> A. Baudot, *Études Historiques sur la Pharmacie en Bourgogne avant 1803* (1905), p. 158 et seq.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 223.

<sup>38</sup> Louis Raynal, *Histoire du Berry* (1844-1847), vols. III. and IV.

plague. As preventive measures they ordered that the streets be cleaned, that all unclean animals be driven out of town, that no one from any pest-ridden place be admitted, that the sale of such fruits and vegetables as melons and cucumbers be forbidden. As soon as any cases of the plague occurred, they should either be quarantined in their own houses or put in the pest-house. These measures seem to have saved Bourges from the plague for two years, though it was raging in other towns of the province. Finally, in June, 1582, it broke out in Bourges. The mayor and échevins loyally remained at their posts, while many barbers and surgeons either left town or perished in the discharge of their duties. The clergy of the town, with the exception of the Jesuits, made a sorry showing. It became necessary to build a number of hasty additions to the pest-house, and further to pass severe measures against the prevalence of immorality, disorder, and blasphemy among the persons confined there. When plague again broke out in Bourges in 1628 six thousand of the inhabitants fled, and five thousand of those remaining died. Only one professor remained at the university, a doctor of medicine who displayed much courage throughout the epidemic. Only nine clergymen remained to receive the confessions of the dying and bring them religious consolation; namely, four Jesuits, four Capuchins, and one secular priest. Of these, two Jesuits died of the plague.<sup>39</sup> The Jesuits also rendered notable services in the pest of 1580-1581 at Paris,<sup>40</sup> and after 1565 they were allowed to take over the municipal college at Lyons because of the devotedness of two Jesuit fathers during the plague there.<sup>41</sup>

In Touraine of the later fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries occurrences of the pest were as regular as inundations of the Loire, with which they alternated. There was pest in 1471 and again in 1473, when the Morality of Sainte-Barbe had to be postponed on that account. In 1482 came a hot fever and *raige de tête*; those afflicted by it ran mad through the streets, dashing their heads against walls or plunging down wells. Giraudet suggests that it may have been meningitis due to malnutrition. The reign of Charles VIII. was marked in Touraine by both the pest and syphilis; the early years of the sixteenth century by pest, famine, and flood; the opening of the reign of Francis I. by pests of 1519 and 1522.<sup>42</sup> Nor

<sup>39</sup> For the outbreak of 1582, see Raynal, *op. cit.*, IV. 158-160; for that of 1628, *ibid.*, pp. 278-279.

<sup>40</sup> Du Boulay, *Hist. Univ. Paris.* (1665-1673), VI. 869.

<sup>41</sup> Delandine, *Catalogue des MSS. de la Bibliothèque de Lyon* (1812), pp. 8-9.

<sup>42</sup> The foregoing details in this paragraph are taken from the first volume of E. Giraudet's *Histoire de Tours* (1873).

did the pest cease to visit Tours in the later sixteenth and the seventeenth century.<sup>43</sup>

Turning next to Brittany, we centre our attention upon the city of Nantes in the sixteenth century.<sup>44</sup> In 1501 the pest killed four thousand, at least one-tenth of the population. It returned in 1522 and 1523. In 1525 grain was high-priced; in 1527 there was famine; in 1529 there was cold and damp weather and extreme misery. As usual, an epidemic followed, which grew so serious that in 1530 the death penalty was enacted for infected persons who appeared in public. In the years 1532-1535 syphilis was added to the previous epidemic. The pest came again in 1546, in 1549, and in 1553. When, in 1569, the Loire rose twenty-one feet, another outbreak of the pest followed the inundation. It was some slight compensation and consolation that in the meantime leprosy had so disappeared that in this same year, 1569, the hospital for lepers was empty and its revenues could be joined to those of the great hospital.<sup>45</sup> In 1583 elaborate police regulations were adopted to check the pest,<sup>46</sup> yet it recurred in 1586, 1596, 1602, 1603, 1612, 1624, 1625, 1631, 1632, 1637, and 1662. The epidemic in 1602, however, appears to have been typhoid dysentery.<sup>47</sup> Despite these frequent visitations, the population of the town appears not to have diminished.

In Lorraine, on the other hand, the population notably diminished during the first half of the sixteenth century, when there were spells of the bubonic plague or other epidemics in 1504, 1505, 1507, 1508, 1522, 1524, and 1545.<sup>48</sup> This period also witnessed a marked decline in learning.<sup>49</sup> But in the second half of the century the population increased rapidly despite pestilences in 1574, 1585, 1587, 1594, and 1597.<sup>50</sup> However, the absence of pestilence from 1545 to 1574 may have helped.

Romier, in his recent work on France under Catherine de' Medici, gives us a brief cross-sectional view of the pest's ravages in mid-sixteenth century.

<sup>43</sup> See Giraudet's second volume, chapters XVIII. and XIX.

<sup>44</sup> For the following details see A. Guépin, *Histoire de Nantes* (2nd ed., 1839), p. 195 et seq.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 236.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 197, where the regulations are given in detail. They included such provisions as that every house must have its own latrine, and that any householder who did not keep the pavement in front of his house clean should be fined.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 290. For the difficulty that the town government of Nantes, like that of Dijon, had in securing the services of doctors and surgeons to tend the pest-ridden, see pp. 267-268, 291, etc.

<sup>48</sup> Aug. Digot, *Histoire de Lorraine* (2nd ed., 1880), IV, 105.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, IV, 123.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, V, 53.

Since 1547 the pest had carried off in Limoges and its suburbs six or seven thousand persons. It passed from one province to another, taking on suddenly an acute form. It raged thus from Picardy to Languedoc, and even at Paris, during the first years of Henry II. Then came the horror of the years 1556, 1557, and 1558, during which the pest together with famine decimated the population of the realm. At Toulouse and in Quercy there were twenty-five thousand victims. The little town of Carcassonne lost two thousand souls. The survivors fled. The evil, which then reached almost all the provinces, seemed to decrease for a time after, to revive with the more force when civil war had created new woes. In 1563 six thousand more died at Limoges, four thousand at Loudun, and the following year the inhabitants of Lyons had not enough hands to bury the corpses. Charles IX., then visiting his kingdom, sought vainly for a refuge from the pest, that terrible traveller which seemed to await him at the gate of every town.<sup>51</sup>

At Bordeaux the students of the College of Guienne were dispersed by the pest in 1549 and again in 1555. In 1585 the plague killed 14,000 persons, including two leading teachers at the college which once again had to be closed, while the local Parlement fled elsewhere. Again in the seventeenth century the pest closed both the College of Guienne and the Jesuit college from 1646 to 1648.<sup>52</sup> Even the great University of Paris was brought to a complete standstill by a visitation of the pest, as we learn from an oration delivered in December, 1545, by the celebrated Ramus, who was among the first to return after the pestilence. He recalls how daily before their eyes were funerals of persons of every age, sex, and fortune, young and old, men and women, rich and poor, with no hour of the day or night free from groans and grieving. Many students, many doctors, and some heads of schools perished. The royal professors were driven from their chairs by the fear of so great an evil and took to flight, as did all their disciples, leaving Paris to silence and solitude. Ramus goes on bemoaning the loss of friends and the sad state of affairs, and admits that it seems the height of temerity to try to reopen a school of letters in such a scarcity of students and with solitude reigning in all the academic precincts.<sup>53</sup> He was again

<sup>51</sup> Lucien Romier, *Le Royaume de Catherine de Médicis: la France à la Veille des Guerres de Religion* (1922), II. 65-66.

<sup>52</sup> Ernest Gaullier, *Histoire du Collège de Guyenne* (Paris, 1874), p. 226 etc.

<sup>53</sup> Pierre de la Ramée, *Pro Philosophica Parisiensis Academiae Disciplina Oratio* (1551), pp. 287-289. After stating that it is some time since he had last appeared on the public platform, "partim quarundam commentationum occupatione, partim impendentis periculi metu . . . cum longissime ab hac academia propter urbis pestilentiam abessem", Ramus proceeds: "Vidimus academiam quae paulo ante florentissima fuerat exitiali pestilentia afflictam. Quotidiana erant ante oculos omnis aetatis sexus fortunae juvenum senum virorum mulierum locupletum inopum funera; nulla tum erat hora diei noctisque lugubri gemitu vacua. Multi pueri plerique doctores nonnulli gymnasiarchi (ne domesticos luctus sileam) in gymnasiis



to encounter the plague at close quarters while in Geneva, where it killed his printer and forced Ramus to change his lodgings and soon afterwards to leave for Lausanne.<sup>54</sup>

In England the University of Oxford had already suffered cruelly from the plague before the time of Ramus. In 1485, Wood tells us in his *History of Oxford*, "a strange and unheard of sickness" within a few weeks' time "dispersed and killed most of the scholars". Next year came another visitation, and yet others in 1493, 1509, 1517, and, above all, 1528-1529.<sup>55</sup> Rents fell badly, and streets that formerly were populous became deserted. Though the university authorities, in writing in 1523 to Sir Thomas More, complained that the nobility, clergy, and monasteries had ceased to support them financially and to send them students, it was probably in no small measure, directly or indirectly, a result of frequent visitations of pestilence that they could say: "So is the number of scholars diminished. So our halls fall down. So all liberal customs grow cold. The Colleges alone persist."<sup>56</sup> This was equivalent to saying that there were almost no advanced or mature students in attendance.

At about the same time the University of Vienna was even harder hit by the plague. Ever since 1436 the pest had proved troublesome, and in 1482 the institution had thought of building a hospital of its own for the students. New attacks of the pest followed in 1506 and 1510, while in the year 1521 because of the plague not a single student matriculated. It broke out again in 1527, and, what with Lutheranism and the Turks at the gates of Vienna, the university never got its students back. In 1530 there were only thirty in attendance. Practically defunct, the university was then revived as a state institution by Ferdinand's reform decrees of 1533, 1537, and 1554.<sup>57</sup> Were we to hark back to the fifteenth

suis miserabiliter extincti. Pulsi sunt e cathedris metu tanti mali professores Regii fugatique sunt e scholis una cum discipulis magistri; bonae artes omnes ac literae uno illo miserabili calamitosoque tempore Lutetie conticuerunt. . . . Temeritatis summae esse videbitur literarum ludum aperire in tanta discentium paucitate . . . in omnibus academiae regionibus solitudo." His using the word "boys" (*pueri*) for the students indicates that most of them were then pursuing in the colleges about the equivalent of our preparatory school work. This was the grade of instruction to which Ramus largely devoted himself.

<sup>54</sup> K. Waddington, *Ramus, sa Vie, ses Ecrits* (1855), p. 213.

<sup>55</sup> These dates approximately coincide with those given for the visitations of the English Sweat. C. Creighton in Traill, *Social England* (unillustrated edition), III, 256, lists five epidemics of the sweating sickness, two in the reign of Henry VII. and the others in 1517, 1528, and 1551.

<sup>56</sup> Sir Charles Edward Mallet, *A History of the University of Oxford* (1924), I, 410-411, citing Wood, I, 642.

<sup>57</sup> Rudolf Kink, *Geschichte der Universität zu Wien* (1854), I, 226-227.

century, we should find at the University of Montpellier a statute of 1410 bemoaning that as a result of war and pest "this university has often been desolate and deserted", while a statute of 1468 states that the university still has few students and "daily hastens to its ruin".<sup>58</sup> In the next century we find that war and pest in the 1580's had to a great extent disorganized the school of medicine.<sup>59</sup>

We may adduce only a few other instances of the interruptions of university instruction and dispersal of students by the pest, although doubtless many other examples might be found. In 1553 pest dispersed the students of Heidelberg, some of whom thereupon followed their professor of civil law to the University of Bourges.<sup>60</sup> A parallel case was when Pierre de Rebuffe, who was born in 1487 near Montpellier, after teaching for seven years at Toulouse, was driven by the plague to Cahors, whither he was followed by a crowd of students.<sup>61</sup> The University of Grenoble had been reconstituted in 1547, but then suffered from internal dissensions, the wars of religion, and the occupation of the town by the ferocious Baron des Adrets. Then the town was desolated by the pest in 1564, and as a sequel in 1567 the university was once again fused with that at Valence. Because of an epidemic the University of Avignon ran into debt and failed to pay in full the salary of the great jurist and humanist, Alciati, who accordingly went back to Italy, although he had left it not long before to avoid the wars that were there waging.<sup>62</sup>

It seems evident that the intellectual class, made up to a large extent of teachers and students (whose poverty, however, might render them more susceptible) and, at least in France, of the legal magistracy associated with law courts and parlements, was in a better position to evade the pest by migration than were the ordinary townsmen who had no other residence and whose native town was at once their home, country, and nation. The clergy and members of the medical profession were more in duty bound to remain at their posts, but, as we have seen, in fact they were often among the first to flee. In the sixteenth century this was one of the complaints made by the consuls of Montpellier against the wealthy and tax-exempt professors of medicine.<sup>63</sup> Antoine Fiancé, however,

<sup>58</sup> *Cartulaire de l'Université de Montpellier*, I. (1890) 50.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 110.

<sup>60</sup> Louis Raynal, *op. cit.* (1844-1847), III. 414. For other instances of the effects of the plague at Heidelberg see E. Stübler, *Geschichte der Medizinischen Fakultät der Universität Heidelberg, 1389-1925* (1926), pp. 6-7, 17, 49, 51, 58.

<sup>61</sup> Raynal, *op. cit.*, III. 367.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 368.

<sup>63</sup> *Cartulaire de l'Université de Montpellier*, vol. II. (1912), pp. lxxvii-lxxviii.

who had been educated at Montpellier, who wrote the satire *Platopodologia* against the envious practitioners of Carpentras, and who then practised medicine at Arles, subsequently rendered great assistance in the plague at Avignon regardless of his own safety and died of the plague in 1580 while still quite young.<sup>64</sup> Another physician who did not flee from the plague and who fell a victim to it was the famous Conrad Gesner (1516-1565), whose *Historia Animalium* has often been represented as "the starting-point of modern zoology". A polyhistor as well as naturalist, he not only published works on plants and animals, but a bibliography of writers in Greek, Latin, and Hebrew (*Bibliotheca Universalis*), a summary of all knowledge (*Pandectae Universales*), and an account of one hundred and thirty different languages (*Mithridates de Differentiis Linguarum*). For a time he was professor of Greek at Lausanne, but he was public physician in Zurich when the plague broke out there in 1564. He remained to combat it that year and the next, when he himself died of it not yet fifty years of age. If the doctors of municipal hospitals in France at about the same time did not flee, they did demand ten or fifteen times their normal salary for caring for the afflicted during a spell of the plague: "6900 francs at Orléans in 1602, 9250 francs at Montélimar in 1586, and 11,700 francs at Perpignan in 1592."<sup>65</sup> The values are given in the purchasing power of the franc in 1913. But concerning Paris in 1631 Gui Patin tells us that there is no doctor in the hospitals for the pest, the care of such patients being in the hands of "ignorant barbers".<sup>66</sup>

As for the clergy, even pope and cardinals had to reckon with the pest, as the *Commentaries* of Pius II. have already shown us, and as we learn further from the correspondence of his younger kinsman, Jacopo Piccolomini, cardinal of Pavia. A letter by him to Pope Paul II. of July 10, 1467, informs that pontiff that the plague had forced the writer to leave Pienza for Siena.<sup>67</sup> A year later he is much concerned for Paul II.'s own safety, pointing out that members of the papal family and household have already died

<sup>64</sup> L. Bardinet, *Universitatis Avenionensis Historica Adumbratio* (1880), p. 42.

<sup>65</sup> Vicomte Georges d'Avenel, *Les Revenus d'un Intellectuel de 1200 à 1913* (1922), p. 188. He adds: "Les municipalités, il est vrai, forcées de subir ces prix pour n'être pas abandonnées de leurs praticiens, stipulaient alors un tarif au mois ou à la journée."

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 192.

<sup>67</sup> Ep. CCV., in the collection bound with the *Commentarii* of Pius II. in the edition of 1614: "Vehemens pestilentia que his proximis diebus Pientiam et vicina loca apprehendit. cogit me Senam recta via contendere. Itaque hic sum cum familiola incolumis."

of the plague, and that Paul should no longer remain in the pest-ridden city and expose his precious person to danger unnecessarily. The cardinal adds the further warning that antidotes and doctors are of no avail against the dread disease.<sup>68</sup>

It is probable that, as the rich and well-housed and well-fed were less liable to the pest than the poor, so the intelligent and well-educated knew how to escape it better than the stupid and ignorant. Girolamo Ruscelli, indeed, who was at once philosopher, poet, and physician, flattered himself that he had preserved himself from the pest in 1556 in Padua and neighboring places by means of "odoriferous balls", concerning which he has left a treatise in manuscript.<sup>69</sup> But despite all the treatises that had been written and remedies that had been tried against the plague since 1348,<sup>70</sup> Giovanni Francesco Olmo in his work *On Occult Properties in Medicine*, published in 1597, could still state that no cure for the plague was known, that its causes were hidden, that it was worse than all other poisons put together, and that, if you were stricken with it, all your friends would abandon you.<sup>71</sup> Here was a case where necessity was not the mother of invention, for surely nothing was more needed for four centuries than some remedy for the fell disease. When it raged at Venice in 1576 Galeatius Cairus, a physician from Pistoia, urged the establishment of a school especially to study it and an academy to discuss it.<sup>72</sup> Even intellectuals continued to die of it in the seventeenth century, when Trecaltius the elder, professor of theology at Leyden, died of it in 1602 and was followed within two months by his successor, Francis Junius.<sup>73</sup> Jacobus Zabarella, professor of botany at Padua, died of the plague in 1630, and in 1637 passed away Daniel Sennert, professor of medicine at Wittenberg, iatro-chemist, and founder of the corpuscular theory.<sup>74</sup> The latter,

<sup>68</sup> *Pius II.*, ep. CCXLVI.: "Crebri casus qui acciderunt domi B. vestrae cogunt fideles servos ad salutem domini esse sollicitos. Olim decessit peste insignis vir cognatus suus [tuus?], nuper medicus, . . . Ioannes Condalmatio et inferioris famulatus . . . complures."

<sup>69</sup> "Balle Odorifere Contro la Peste", in MS. S. Michael de Muriano, Venetiis, 942, together with Aphorisms of Leonardus Floravanti. Such use of strong scents and perfumes might serve to keep off the fleas who carried the infection.

<sup>70</sup> For the medical literature evoked by the Black Death and subsequent plague tractates see the publications of Karl Sudhoff, Mrs. Dorothea W. Singer, A. C. Klebs, Stephen D'Irsay, E. Wickersheimer, and others. The "Pestschriften aus den ersten 150 Jahren nach der Epidemie des 'Schwarzen Todes', 1348", which Sudhoff has long been publishing, are completed with elaborate indexes in the *Archiv für Geschichte der Medizin*, XVII. (1925) 241-291.

<sup>71</sup> Ulmus, *De Occultis in Re Medica Proprietatibus* (1597), III. 8.

<sup>72</sup> In Latin MS., S. Marco XIV., 35.

<sup>73</sup> W. S. M. Knight, *The Life and Works of Hugo Grotius* (1925), p. 55.

<sup>74</sup> E. Gerland, *Geschichte der Physik* (1913), pp. 467-468.

however, had attained the age of sixty-five, and the Jesuit Fontana, who claimed to have discovered the telescope in 1608, died of the plague at Naples when seventy-six in 1656.<sup>75</sup> Or the pest touched scholars through their families. For instance, both parents of the encyclopaedist Zwinger, author of the vast *Theatrum Humanae Vitae*,<sup>76</sup> were afflicted by it. His father, who died of the plague in 1544, had refused to take to his bed lest he alarm his wife who already was stricken by it.<sup>77</sup>

A more general view of the presence of the plague in Germany than any of the accounts we have thus far noticed is provided for the first half of the sixteenth century by the history of the Roman Catholic, Surius, published in 1568.<sup>78</sup> Under the year 1502 he states that a most cruel pest depopulated all Germany far and wide. Under the next year he refers back to this pest as having killed in some parts one-third, in others one-half of the population, and adds that it was now followed by a horrible epidemic of divers diseases which swept away many thousands of lives. "There were in men pestiferous fevers, intestinal heats, hardly endurable headaches, fearful foulness of the breath; in fine, this year seemed to have brought nothing but slaughter and calamities." In 1508 he notes that a very wet summer afflicted the pigs and cattle with pestilence in not a few places. In 1528 he mentions the pest that devastated the French army then attacking Naples. In 1529 the English Sweat (*Sudor Anglicus*), a disease known by that name since its appearance in England in 1486 during the reign of Henry VII., killed many thousands in Germany within the space of twenty-four hours. In 1556 the pest raged in many places, especially along the Rhine and at Strasbourg, and John Sleidan, the noted Protestant historian, died of it. At the famous siege of Ostend in 1602 more perished from it than from the sword, and in 1639 four thousand men died of it in two days in the camp of Bernhard of Weimar who probably fell a victim to it himself rather than to poison.<sup>79</sup>

For the many outbreaks of the plague in England the reader may be referred to Creighton's *History of Epidemics in Britain*<sup>80</sup> or his briefer summaries in Traill's *Social England*.<sup>81</sup> The following

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 360.

<sup>76</sup> It was edited by his son and published at Basel, 1604.

<sup>77</sup> *Theatrum Humanae Vitae*, p. 3695.

<sup>78</sup> Laurentius Surius, *Commentarius Brevis Rerum in Orbe Gestarum ab Anno 1500*.

<sup>79</sup> W. S. M. Knight, *op. cit.*, pp. 62, 241.

<sup>80</sup> Published in 2 vols. in 1891-1894.

<sup>81</sup> See also Walter G. Bell, *The Great Plague in London in 1665* (1924),

is a typical sentence: "Twice in the Elizabethan period [in 1563 and 1593] the capital lost from a sixth to a fifth part of its population by a great plague, and in each of several other years of the reign its mortality by ordinary causes was more than doubled by plague."<sup>82</sup> A very valuable recent Italian study is Guido Guerrini's "Notizie Storiche e Statistiche sulla Peste", in the *Rivista di Storia delle Scienze Mediche e Naturali*, volume XVI. (1925), pages 293-316, with interesting statistics and bibliography for the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries especially.

Even when not actually present, the plague could hardly fail to be frequently in men's minds. Its psychological effect is well illustrated by the case of Jacques de Banne. From 1618 on he was a canon of Viviers in southern France, but is more important for us as a local historian. Of his ecclesiastical histories only fragments have been published, and the manuscripts of them have disappeared, at least for the time being. But in 1917 Auguste Le Sourd published his *Mémoires*,<sup>83</sup> which are in the form of artless notes covering the period from 1567 to 1637. Rather prone, in accordance with the well-established usage of many ancient and medieval historians, to record omens and portents, de Banne describes such occurrences as the haired comet of 1618 and the rain of black worms in 1622. But the pest, says Courteault, is the *Leitmotiv* of his work. He ascribes the local invasion of it to Huguenots who secretly brought a bedevilled unguent into Lyons and smeared the door-knockers of the houses and the holy water basins of the churches with it. Viviers was spared on that occasion, but de Banne is haunted by fear of the plague, and gives most circumstantial details concerning its progress and a collection of remedies against it. These include those of an Italian, of the King of Spain, and one that had been brought back from Jerusalem. He also recommends the employment of religious processions and prayers to the saints and the Virgin.

The effect of the pest alike upon learned science and popular superstition may be illustrated from the works of Robert Boyle in the latter half of the seventeenth century. The author of *The Sceptical Chymist* was inclined to ascribe the origin of the plague to "subterranean steams and noxious expirations of the terrestrial globe".<sup>84</sup> In a letter to Boyle from J. Beale of October 12, 1670, we read: "Whilst a person, whom for many years I have known to

<sup>82</sup> *Social England*, III. 559.

<sup>83</sup> In the *Revue du Vivarais*, pp. xv, 94. I have not had access to this periodical, but follow the review of Le Sourd's publication by Henri Courteault in the *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole de Chartes*, LXXVIII. (1917) 359-361.

<sup>84</sup> In the 1772 edition of his *Works*, V. 58.



be creditable, was reading to me the fifth page of your *Cosmical Suspicions*, he stopped at the first period, which mentions pestilential steams", and told Beale, "'That he knew a good old woman, aged near eighty, now deceased, who said often, in his hearing, that she could know if the plague were within thirty miles of her, by a pain she had in three plague sores, which sores she had in her younger days, before she was married.' He forgot to ask, and could not now guess, what her particular aim was in mentioning thirty miles distance."<sup>85</sup> Boyle himself had also put the query, whether plagues are natural events or supernaturally inflicted by God to punish man, and thought that they might sometimes be supernatural.<sup>86</sup>

The impression made by the plague upon men's minds is also illustrated by the art of the time. Poussin's masterpiece was the painting called *La Peste*, for which he received no less than 9700 francs (in the purchasing power of 1913) from the Duc de Richelieu.<sup>87</sup>

The common occurrence of death in such a sudden, swift, and unavoidable manner, and on so vast a scale, is apt to encourage a fatalistic attitude. Perhaps the mental effect of repeated pestilences had something to do with the wide spread in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries of the doctrine of predestination. At least we may believe that the Psalm-singing Calvinists intoned with fervor verses which for them had a grim reality that they no longer possess, verses concerning "the noisome pestilence", or "the pestilence that walketh in darkness and the destruction that wasteth at noon-day". Under the circumstances of those times it might indeed be a comfort to feel oneself one of God's elect, and such Puritanical names as Preserved might be more than figurative. "A thousand shall fall at thy side, and ten thousand at thy right hand; but it shall not come nigh thee. Only with thine eyes shalt thou behold and see the reward of the wicked. Because thou hast made the Lord, which is my refuge, even the Most High, thy habitation; there shall no evil befall thee, neither shall any plague come nigh thy dwelling." Religious persecution was not the only external evil that gave to Calvinism its stern austerity. Even a Dryden wrote:

"The living few, and frequent funerals then  
Proclaim'd Thy wrath on this forsaken place."

But it was an Arminius who voluntarily served as plague-preacher in stricken Leyden.<sup>88</sup>

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*, VI. 429.

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*, V. 56.

<sup>87</sup> D'Avenel, *Les Revenus d'un Intellectuel* (1922), p. 234.

<sup>88</sup> W. S. M. Knight, *op. cit.*, p. 56.

The scattered evidence as to the importance of pestilence as a factor in early modern history which has been here presented is meant merely to be suggestive. It might be amplified from numerous other sources and multiplied manifold. For the most part it has been gathered indirectly and happened upon incidentally to the pursuit of other investigation. Where it has been taken from other books, their authors for the most part were not particularly or primarily interested in the pest, but noted it because it was inevitably forced upon their attention. A writer on the plague in England has compared it to a shears of Fate which kept trimmed the ragged edges of the population and of great cities, relieving society to a certain extent of the burden imposed by poverty, crime, and social degradation.<sup>80</sup> But this interpretation of it as cruelly performing a nevertheless wholesome function seems unduly optimistic. Did it not also breed poverty and social degradation, and perpetuate them? But whatever its character in London, our evidence suggests that for western Europe in general it was a very wholesale affliction. The loss of life everywhere was too great to be called a mere fringe of society; it must have eaten into the vigor of the community as a whole. While the educated and upper classes had a better chance of escaping it than those who suffered from malnutrition or lived in crowded and unsanitary quarters, we have seen that they often failed to escape it, and that even if they did, their life was apt to be much upset by it. It was, then, no mere shears of Fate but a blight upon early modern civilization.

LYNN THORNDIKE.

<sup>80</sup> C. Creighton in Traill's *Social England*, III. 145.

## INTERNATIONAL CALVINISM THROUGH LOCKE AND THE REVOLUTION OF 1688

Two contemporary observers picture the influence of John Locke in two revolutions. Shortly after the publication in 1690 of Locke's *Two Treatises of Government*, justifying the principles of the English Revolution of 1688, his fellow-exile in Holland, the Huguenot critic Bayle, wrote: "Locke's Civil Government proves that the sovereignty belongs to the people." "This is the gospel of the day among Protestants." During the American Revolution Josiah Tucker, dean of Gloucester, remarked: "The Americans have made the maxims of Locke the ground of the present war."

Locke was common property on the eve of the American Revolution. He was quoted in its defense by James Otis, John Adams, Sam Adams, and the Boston town meeting, the Massachusetts assembly, Revolutionary preachers—Howard, West, Stillman, Haven, Whitaker; owned and studied by Jonathan Mayhew; read and recommended by Hamilton, Franklin, and Jefferson; and incorporated in the Declaration of Independence. His works were in scores of colonial libraries—of Weare, Revolutionary "President" of New Hampshire, Presidents Wheelock of Dartmouth and Witherspoon of Princeton (signer of the Declaration), William Byrd of Virginia, the semi-public libraries of Providence, Newport, New York, Philadelphia, and Charleston; and the college libraries of Harvard, Yale, Princeton, and Dartmouth where his *Government* was drawn out eight times, 1775-1776. Locke was an essential element of what Jefferson called "the American mind".

Locke's influence in government was strengthened by his vogue in philosophy and theology. The *Essay concerning Human Understanding* was the standard college text-book in Revolutionary days. The "new method of Scripture Commentary, by Paraphrase and Notes", of "the Great Mr. Locke" made his "reputation as a Scripture Commentator exceeding high with the public", wrote President Stiles of Yale, 1775.

Locke was the more acceptable in America because he restated familiar teaching. Jefferson said of the Declaration of Independence: "All its authority rests on the harmonizing sentiments of the day, whether expressed in conversation, in letters, printed essays, or in the elementary books of public right, as Aristotle, Cicero, Locke, Sidney, etc." John Adams coupled with Locke as "de-

fenders of liberty and consummate statesmen", Sidney, Milton, Vane, Selden, Harrington, and Ponet (Calvinistic Anglican bishop) who taught "all that was afterwards dilated upon by Locke". In the *American Register*, 1769, a cartoon labelled "An Attempt to land a Bishop in America" pictures the bishop hastily reembarking, murmuring "Lord now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace". The hostile crowd hurls "Calvin's Works", grasps "Sidney on Government" and "Locke" as additional missiles, and waves banners characterizing alike these authors and New England: "No Lords Spiritual or Temporal in New England", "Liberty and Freedom of Conscience".

The political teachings of Locke had been demonstrated as practicable in nine Calvinistic revolutions of representative assemblies against tyranny of bishop or prince: in Geneva, 1536; Scotland, 1559, 1567; the Dutch Declaration of Independence, 1581; the Huguenot civil wars culminating in the Edict of Nantes, 1598; Bocskay's Hungarian revolt of 1606; the Scottish Covenanters, 1638; England in the Civil War, and the Revolution of 1688.

Locke cites authorities sparingly; but in his *Two Treatises on Government*, his citations are almost entirely Calvinistic: Scripture seventy-nine times; seven Calvinists (Hooker, Bilson, James I., Milton, Hunton, Ainsworth, Selden); one ex-Calvinist, the Dutch Remonstrant Grotius; and only one reference uninfected by Calvinism, the Scottish Catholic Barclay.

Hooker, the secular writer chiefly quoted in Locke's *Government*, was greatly indebted to Calvin and perpetuated his influence. "The judicious Hooker" cites a dozen times Calvin, "concerning whose deserved authority even among the gravest divines, we have already spoken at large", "his rescripts and answers of as great authority as decretal epistles". "In theology thousands indebted to him, he only to God." Hooker and Bishop Bilson (like other Puritans and Anglicans to about 1636) were brought up on Calvin's *Institutes*; and these good churchmen and good doctrinal Calvinists give repeated and convincing evidence of the hold Calvin had in sixteenth-century England. A careful reading of Hooker convinces one that he has rightly been recognized by Keble, Goode, and Mozeley, as Calvinistic in doctrine, though moderate here as always, and differing in matters of church polity from the Puritans and somewhat from Calvin. Sidney Lee has sound evidence for his conclusion that in the "mingling of theology and political philosophy" of the famous *Ecclesiastical Polity* "the Frenchman Calvin may well claim the main credit of laying the foundation on which Hooker built".

In addition to Calvin, Hooker cites a score of Calvinists whose influence filtered through Locke: Beza and Goulart; Scaliger and the Dutch Calvinistic creed; Cartwright, Reynolds, Fenner; Mornay and the *Vindiciae*; Peter Martyr, and John a Lasco.<sup>1</sup>

Three other Calvinistic authors, cited by Locke in his *Government*, were indebted to the Calvinists quoted by Hooker and to some thirty others whom they cite. Bishop Bilson, unquestionably Calvinistic, and of high repute in the English church, built upon "Father Calvin", "Brother Beza", the Calvinists in Holland and France; and justified on a Calvinistic basis the revolts in Scotland, France, and Holland, in his *True Difference between Christian Subjection and Unchristian Rebellion*, written in 1585 at Elizabeth's instigation to justify English support of these successful rebels, one of the books most frequently quoted in support of the Civil War and the Revolution.

The learned and moderate Selden was a Calvinist in doctrine, good enough to sit as active member of the Westminster Assembly; and in matters of state and church government in substantial accord with Calvin though not always with the Presbyterians. Selden in his opposition to *jure divino* bishops or *jure divino* presbyters resembled Calvin, Locke, Milton, and Falkland. Selden owned and quoted with approval Calvin's catechism, Genevan *Ordonnances Ecclésiastiques*, and three Calvinistic creeds, and the *Laws and Statutes of Geneva*, regarded Calvin and Beza as *doctissimi*, cited them with approval some forty-eight times, their Huguenot follower Hotman twenty-five times, and twenty other Calvinists in all over four hundred times.

Milton closely resembles Locke in opposition to tyranny (whether of king, bishop, or presbyter) and in support of tolerance and revolution, upon Calvinistic grounds of contract, natural rights, and sovereignty of the people. After visiting Geneva, where "I was in daily converse with that most learned theological professor, John Deodati", Milton wrote: "where in the Christian world doth learning more flourish than in Belgia, Helvetia, and that envied Geneva?" His *Tenure of Kings and Magistrates*, in support of Calvinistic resistance, cites or quotes Calvin; the Dutch Declaration of Independence; the German Pareus and the Italian Peter Martyr, both so influential in England and Germany; Knox, Buchanan, and the com-

<sup>1</sup> Hooker (Keble ed.), *Works*, citing Calvin: I, 127, 131-133, II, 542-543, III, 47, 525, 586; Goode, *Doctrine of Church of England*, pp. 103-104, quoting Hooker, *Works*, III, ii, 588-589, 642-643, II, 324, 751, on his Calvinism; Lee, *French Renaissance in England*, p. 138; id., "Hooker", *Dict. Nat. Biog.*; Mozeley, *Predestination*, note xix, p. 378 (1878); Hooker, *Works*, pref., vol. I, pp. lxvi, lviii.

missioners justifying the deposition of Mary Stuart on Calvinistic grounds. After citing eight exiles in Geneva (including Knox, Goodman, Cartwright, Fenner, and Whittingham), and the "Congregations" in Germany and Geneva, Milton adds: "These were the true Protestant divines of England, our fathers in the faith we hold." The influence of these Calvinists and of the Huguenots Hotman and Mornay (*Vindiciae*) Milton passed on to Locke and New England which he praised for its opposition to bishops, and where Milton's own "principles generally prevail", wrote Jonathan Mayhew, 1761.<sup>2</sup>

Hooker, Bilson, Selden, Milton are significant examples of the links in the chain of Calvinistic resistance to tyranny forged at Geneva, and through Locke connected with the Revolutions of 1688 and 1776. Of some twenty-six Calvinistic writers who directly influenced Locke, John Adams cited or owned a score. James Otis, quoting Locke, said he might equally well have cited Sidney and the "British Martyrs", but these would have led to the outcry of rebellion. Locke was, as he himself advised, careful not to "shock the received opinions of those one has to deal with". He was judicious in citation and argument and though of Puritan strain and views was in communion with the "established church".

The half-dozen writers on government and law, outside of Locke, best known in America reveal the same red thread of Locke and Calvinism.

Grotius was bred a Calvinist, under the teaching of the Huguenot Pierre Moulin (father of Locke's own teacher), and of Uytenbogaert who brought to Holland counsel of tolerance from the Calvinist Perrot, professor and rector of Geneva University. Grotius remained a liberal Calvinist of the type represented by the Dutch and other sixteenth-century Calvinistic creeds until he and that type were condemned, largely for political and personal reasons, at the Synod of Dort. Grotius owed even more than he confessed to the Italian refugee Gentilis, professor at Puritan Oxford, whose own *De Jure Belli* (1588, 1597) and other writings, his affiliations with the London Huguenot church, and his father's specific statements prove him to have been a Calvinist.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Milton, *Tenure of Kings*, sections 8, 9, 11, 17, 20, 35, 37, 38, 60, 61; *Common Place Book* (1877, Camden Soc.), pp. 31-33, 39. See also *Defensio Prima* and *Secunda*, and *Animadversions on Remonstrants*. Allison (introd. *Tenure* in Yale Studies) incorrectly accuses Milton of "wresting" Calvin; cf. *Institutes*, IV, xx, 31 ("Ephors") and sermons on Dan. iv, 25, vi, 22.

<sup>3</sup> Gentilis's father's statements, Hotman, *Epist.* 18, p. 328, and 3, p. 261; quoted in Speranza, *Gentili Studi*, p. 60. Further evidence in Gentilis *De Nuptiis*



Blackstone has been shown by Pollock to have "substantially followed Locke, so that his *Commentaries* were a vehicle of Locke to a numerous and public-spirited band in the American Colonies".<sup>4</sup> Burlamaqui, to whom Blackstone was also indebted, was widely read in the colonies. His *Principles of Natural and Political Law*, of which seven editions were published in English before 1800, was a text-book in colonial colleges, and until 1810, being read in Dartmouth by Webster and Salmon P. Chase. John Adams's autograph copy has annotations revealing careful study. Burlamaqui was Genevan born and bred, and received promotion and warm support from the strong Calvinistic rectors and professors of theology who praised him for his religion as well as his jurisprudence in terms so cordial as to indicate his sympathy with Calvinism.<sup>5</sup>

Vattel, whose *Droit des Gens ou Principes de la Loi Naturelle* appeared in at least fourteen editions between 1758 and 1802, was the son of a Calvinist minister, and a pupil of Burlamaqui in the University of Geneva. Montesquieu apparently drew in some measure upon Locke, the results of the Revolution of 1688, and the Puritan Sidney's *Discourse upon Government*. He recognizes the fitness of Calvinism for republics, and records his admiration for Calvin's services to Geneva.<sup>6</sup> Rousseau, born and bred in Geneva, although at variance with Calvinistic theology and ethics, nevertheless in his *Contrat Social* warmly praised Calvin's contribution to liberty through his revision of the Genevan constitution. His further debt to Calvinism is acknowledged in his sixth *Lettre de Montagne*. "The unfortunate Sidney thought as I did . . . Althusius in Germany, Locke, Montesquieu. Locke especially treated these matters on exactly the same principles as I."

The red thread of Geneva and political Calvinism runs through non-Calvinists, as well as through a hundred Calvinistic writers and leaders between Calvin and Locke and another hundred between

(74 citations from Calvin in first third alone); and in Holland, *Studies in International Law*, and preface to 1877 reprint of *De Jure Belli*. Grotius and Remonstrants, Foster, "Liberal Calvinism", *Harvard Theological Review*, 1923, pp. 1-37.

<sup>4</sup> "Locke's Theory of the State", *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 1903-1904, pp. 237-249.

<sup>5</sup> Reeves, *American Journal of International Law*, 1909, p. 505 (Blackstone). Borgeaud, *Hist. Univ. Genève*, vol. I. and copy generously furnished by him of A. Lullin's inedited MS., "De Obitu J. J. Burlamaqui mei Consolatio". Lullin, a good Calvinist, praises Burlamaqui's belief ("Christi doctrinae"), his devotion to the "Evangelium", and his "sapientiam moralem".

<sup>6</sup> Dunning, *Political Theories*, II. 358, 386; Montesquieu, *Correspondance*, Feb., 1749, II. 127; *L'Esprit des Lois*, bk. XI., ch. VI.; bk. X., chs. XV., XX.; Theodore Pietsch, *Ueber das Verhältniss der Politischen Theorien Lockes zu Montesquieu's Lehre von der Teilung der Gewalten* (Breslau, 1887).

Locke and the American Revolution, supporting resistance to tyranny.

It remains to be shown: (1) how Locke inherited these Calvinistic influences; (2) how far he remained Calvinist himself; (3) what of Calvinism passed through Locke to eighteenth-century attempts at civil and religious liberty.

### I.

Locke's religious and political inheritance was received from eight sources. A strong Puritan influence came through his home and father, a captain in the Parliamentary army, and a Calvinist with strict ideas of discipline to which Locke acknowledged his debt. The Puritan inheritance was strengthened by four years in Westminster School, and eight at Oxford under the Puritan régime of Cromwell (in whose honor Locke wrote two poems), Owen, and Locke's tutor Cole. The professor of history, Lewis du Moulin, whom Locke was obliged by statute to hear, is an example of the international Calvinism which filtered through Locke. Son of the famous Pierre du Moulin (teacher of Grotius), Lewis du Moulin studied in the Huguenot universities, took his degrees at Geneva-like Leyden, and Puritan Cambridge and Oxford, where he was Camden Professor of Ancient History until the Restoration, a prolific writer of influence and breadth of view, whom the Anglicans vainly sought to win back from Independency. All his twenty books were recommended by Baxter; some cited by Bayle; six sent to Harvard by the liberal Hollis before the Revolution; and one was especially commended by Owen, Locke's college head. Du Moulin's lectures certainly, and probably his books discussing subjects on which professor and student were writing, would have been familiar to Locke. At Oxford Locke wrote but did not publish his "Reflections upon the Roman Commonwealth"; and in this and his *Defence of Non-conformity* (1682) followed closely the Huguenot-Puritan teachings of Du Moulin (published at almost the same time), in respect to the limitation of bishops' powers; simplification of ceremonies, avoiding things not required in Scripture; objections to any laws binding conscience, or to any coercive power in the church. Du Moulin, in his books and an unpublished manuscript on church history, maintained before Locke these and also Locke's other ideas that all churches were voluntary associations, and that the English church should be of the sixteenth-century type, comprehensive enough to include both Anglican and Puritan.

Like Locke, Owen, and scores of leading Anglicans and Dissenters, Du Moulin maintained the agreement of Church of England and Puritan in doctrine; and like Locke, made significant use of Anglican Calvinists, sixteen in all. He quotes Hooker, Calvin, and the other Calvinists upon whom Hooker and Locke built, and cites over forty Calvinists—Genevan, Swiss, Huguenot, Dutch, English, German, Scottish, Irish, Italian, American colonial. This international Huguenot-Dutch-Puritan Calvinist teacher of Locke taught and published the doctrines of fundamental law, contract and consent of people, natural rights of equality, liberty, including tolerance and liberty of conscience, not only before Locke but in five books appearing during his presence at Oxford. Du Moulin is a significant factor in Locke's inheritance of international Calvinism.<sup>7</sup>

Locke was on friendly terms with Nonconformists like Baxter, many of whose views (so much like Du Moulin's) he reproduced, and with the Calvinist Tyrrell, nephew and defender of Usher, Calvinistic archbishop and Irish primate, whose work Locke possessed and praised. Finally there was the influence of Puritans whose books he owned or cited—Milton, Ainsworth, Sidney, John Sadler (author of the *Rights of the Kingdom*), Sir Harry Vane, and the Presbyterian Hunton.

The Huguenot influence was begun during Locke's four years' residence in France, 1675-1679. Observing and recording the sermons, services, and discipline of the Huguenots, he rightly concluded that their doctrine did not differ from that of Presbyterians or Church of England, and that their church, founded on voluntary consent, like that of Nîmes, resembled both the primitive church and his own ideal. Locke shared the Huguenot loyalist view before 1685, when they were enjoying rights guaranteed by the Edict of Nantes. It is significant that after the violation of that edict he followed their change of base and shared their revised views upholding resistance to tyranny based upon violation of contract and fundamental law. Locke participated in scholarly discussions at the home of the Huguenot canonist Justel. With him and the Huguenot refugees, whom he came to know during his exile in Holland, Locke continued his friendships. He owned books by four

<sup>7</sup> Du Moulin, *Paraenesis* (1656), epist. ded., and 637; *Power of Christian Magistrates* (1650), pp. 24, 17; *Right of Churches* (1658), epist. ded., and ch. I. ("judicious Richard Hooker", p. 195). Cf. Locke, "Reflections Roman Commonwealth" (1667), Bourne, *Locke*, I. 147-154. Cf. Du Moulin, *Declaratory Considerations* (1679); *Short Account of Advance of Church of England toward Rome* (1680), pp. 56, 102, 104; *Appeal of Non-Conformists* (1680), pp. 1, 6, 15-16, with Locke, "Defence of Nonconformity" (1682), Bourne, *Locke*, I. 457-460; *First Letter concerning Toleration* (1689), and *Second Letter* (1690), *Works*, VI. 136.

Huguenot fellow-exiles: Jurieu, fiery controversialist and ardent supporter of the English Revolution; Jaquelot (closely resembling Locke); Claude, tolerant, and widely influential; Le Clerc, Remonstrant professor but Genevan-bred and formerly minister there. Bayle (critic and part-time Calvinist) Locke met, and pronounced his *Dictionary* "incomparable".

The third Calvinistic influence was the Dutch, during six years' exile preceding the Revolution, when Locke began his serious writing. Here he formulated his "Pacific Christians", a plan for a church (at once Puritan, Huguenot, and Dutch) founded upon consent and fundamental law of Scripture and governed democratically. In Holland, his ideas of toleration, observed in practice here and in Brandenburg, attempted by Independents in England, he incorporated and published in his *Epistola de Tolerantia*, an expansion of earlier, unpublished essays. It is in Holland (and after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes) that there are for the first time discoverable evidences of Locke's advocacy of resistance published in his *Government* on his return to England, 1690. Locke took active part in the negotiations regarding the English Revolution and came into trusted relations with William III.

From 1683 to 1689, Locke, a refugee and deprived of his Oxford studentship, lived in an atmosphere fermenting with ideas of religious toleration and resistance to tyranny. Huguenot refugees effectively aiding to unite Dutch, English, and the Great Elector of Brandenburg in resistance to Louis XIV., violator of the contract, fundamental law, and natural rights of liberty and freedom of conscience embodied in the Edict of Nantes; English and Scottish exiles hiding from religious and political oppression, and publishing accounts of earlier successful revolts against Stuart tyranny; Dutch Calvinists, proud of one successful revolt and preparing for another; the unorthodox Remonstrants, the "irregular regulars" of the Synod of Dort, once exiled but now tolerated and advocating tolerance—all these spiritual sons or stepsons of Calvin pullulated with ideas developed in discussion, and published in a mass of revolutionary books, periodicals, and pamphlets, Dutch, French, English, and German.

A further example of Calvinistic toleration Locke observed with commendation during two visits to Cleves, the Rhineland of that ardent Calvinist, hard hitter and shrewd diplomat, the Great Elector of Brandenburg, ally of William III. and warm friend of the Huguenots. The ambassadorship to Brandenburg was later offered to Locke by William III.

An influence, diplomatically emphasized in Locke's *Government* but apt to be overlooked as Calvinistic, was that of the Anglican Calvinists, like Hooker, Bishop Bilson, and James I. Hooker's acceptance of Calvinistic doctrine was logically accompanied by a reproduction of Calvinistic political theories, fundamental law, natural rights, contract and consent of the people, and resistance. Bilson followed "Father Calvin" even more closely than Hooker, especially in church government. James I., thrice cited in Locke's *Government*, though cordially disliking the disciplinary functions of a "Scottish Presbytery, which, saith he, as well agreeth with a Monarchy as God with the Devill", was nevertheless an orthodox Calvinist in doctrine (instigating and supporting the Synod of Dort) and helped to carry over to Locke Buchanan's Calvinistic teachings of fundamental law and contract.

Other Scottish Calvinists are not cited by Locke. Indirect influence they are likely to have had through their frequent use and citation by authors familiar to Locke; and Locke shows some interest in books on Scottish history. But "Scottish Presbytery" as well as Anglican "episcopacies", claiming apostolic authority, or coercive power over magistrates, Locke, like Baxter, Du Moulin, Falkland, Selden, and many other good English Calvinists expressly condemned.<sup>8</sup>

Two influences obviously affecting Locke were apparently outside the pale of Calvinism: the Latitudinarians or Liberal English churchmen (including the Cambridge school), and in Holland the Remonstrants, especially Grotius and Limborch. Here we tread on debatable ground as to how much Calvinism remained with these men. What is indisputable is that through these liberal elements there passed to Locke the pervasive Calvinistic deposit. Falkland it is true opposed Puritan domination or *jure divino* presbytery and he loved peace and moderation. But the evidence warrants the conclusion of Tulloch and Seaton that Falkland "remained a Calvinist", like Locke strongly opposing *jure divino* episcopacy and imposition of ceremonies. Falkland in his parliamentary speeches denounced Arminianism and Laud, because they had "slackened the strictness of that union which was formerly between us and those of our religion beyond the sea". The close resemblance between Falkland and Locke is the more striking as it illustrates the fact that abandonment of Calvinism is not implied by either refusal of Presbyterian polity, or by communion with the Church of England while seeking to restore sixteenth-century agreement with Huguenot and

<sup>8</sup> "Sacerdos", King, *Life of Locke*, p. 291; "Toleration", *Works*, V, 14.

Dutch in place of seventeenth-century divine-right claims of bishops. Falkland moreover admired and "made very much use of" Daillé (with his characteristic Huguenot appeal to reason, linguistic and historic sense as well as to Scripture) and translated part of his *De Usu Patrum*. This also influenced Chillingworth, to whom Locke was indebted.

The liberal Cambridge Platonists "also sprang from the Puritan side", coming out of Emmanuel College that furnished New England with its pastors. Cudworth, to whom Locke was indebted, was "peculiarly associated during the Commonwealth with Cromwell and his friends", and was trusted by the Puritan House of Commons as preacher and Biblical expert.<sup>9</sup> Whichcote, trained in Emmanuel and by Calvinistic teachers, "remained among the Puritans and was reckoned on their side", and "borrowed nothing from the Dutch Arminians". Denying that he had even heard of their *Apologia*, he added: "truly I have read more Calvin and Perkins and Beza than all the books, authors, or names you mention."<sup>10</sup>

The Dutch Remonstrants, to whom Locke was indebted and whom he came to resemble more closely, were outgrowths and preservers of the liberal side of Calvin and his contemporaries. Arminius, Uytenbogaert, and a dozen other Remonstrant leaders were among the 310 Dutch students bred at Geneva by 1605. Accepting the sixteenth-century Calvinistic creeds, but like Calvin (when he refused to sign the Nicene and Athanasian creeds) willing to be bound by creeds drawn from Scripture but not those constructed from men's decrees; quoting Calvin's *Institutes* on "Christian liberty"; agreeing with him on lack of merit in man, and on salvation through Christ as dependent solely upon the grace of God, without respect to qualifications of persons; continuing down to Limborch (Locke's friend) to teach Calvinistic double predestination—the Remonstrants were "a party in the state rather than a sect in the church", condemned for personal and political reasons, rather than for lack of the Calvinism of Calvin whom they quoted in opposition to their opponents and whose fundamental principles they reasserted. Even orthodox Calvinists who accepted the decrees of the Synod of Dort disapproved the illiberal attitude of the orthodox "Counterremonstrants", the "Epigones" or small fry of the seventeenth century. The synod's decrees never received symbolical authority outside of Holland and France. Locke's sympathy with

<sup>9</sup> Tulloch, *Rational Theology*, I. 155, 158; Seaton, *Toleration under Later Stuarts*, p. 52; Falkland's speech concerning episcopacy, in Marriot's *Falkland*, pp. 181-190.

<sup>10</sup> Tulloch, *op. cit.*, II. 7, 51, 72, 81.



the Remonstrants indicated (until 1695) antagonism to Synod of Dort Calvinism and its dogmatism on points left open in Calvin, but agreement with Calvin's Genevan creed and catechism, and with sixteenth-century Calvinism.<sup>11</sup>

Through direct and indirect influences, both orthodox and liberal, Locke became, in terms of his own medical profession, a "carrier" of Calvinism from the Reformation to the revolutions of 1688 and 1776. How far Locke himself remained a Calvinist must be answered from his own writings, and with careful discrimination as to time, and phases of Calvinism.

## II.

In doctrine, Locke's emphasis of the Calvinistic premises of absolute sovereignty of God and sole authority of Scripture "without any admixture of error", led him logically to the Calvinistic conclusions of original sin, salvation only through grace and good pleasure of God and not through works, and to the doctrine of election as taught in the orthodox Calvinistic national creeds of Geneva, Scotland, Holland, Switzerland, the Palatinate, and England, drawn by Calvin, Knox, and his other sixteenth-century disciples bred in Geneva. Locke, accepting the Thirty-nine Articles, rightly felt (in common with scores of leading Anglicans and Puritans) that the two bodies "agree perfectly in doctrine". "Presbyterian, Independent, or Huguenot Church, or Church of England," "we suppose them to agree in doctrine." He held to this international sixteenth-century Calvinism until 1695, five years after publication of his *Government*, when he appears surprised to find himself at variance with Calvin and Turretini in their interpretation of Scripture.

From Calvinistic premises as to authority, he deduced Calvinistic conclusions as to sole authority of God and his word in the government of the church. Expressly approving the Huguenot and Independent church government, and their belief in churches as "voluntary associations", he testified to their safe foundation, and criticized the seventeenth-century Anglican clergy's policy as "too narrow and too clogged with stumbling blocks". Locke followed Calvin in his opposition to "episcopacies" claiming power derived from the apostles or right to dominate in the church, and definitely approved churches like the Huguenot or Independent "voluntary associations" governed by "the assembly itself" or its "ancientest brethren", on the basis of "the Word of Truth revealed in the

<sup>11</sup> Foster, "Liberal Calvinism: the Remonstrants at the Synod of Dort", *Harv. Theol. Rev.*, 1923, pp. 14-32.

Scripture", but with no earthly master. "One alone being our Master, even Christ, we acknowledge no masters of our assembly."

In worship, Locke took Calvin's grounds of edification and liberty rather than "human tradition", and definitely followed him and the Puritans in opposing the cross in baptism, the requirement of kneeling at communion, or imposition of "any other ceremony not instituted by Christ himself". In worship, as in government and moral discipline in both church and community, "Locke remaining Puritan in spite of the progress of his ideas, sought always to restore the primitive church in its purity, and to complete the work of the reformers, who had been by circumstances forced to compromise". Locke's letters show him continuing to the last distinctively "Protestant", urging Englishmen to "imitate the zeal and pursue the knowledge of those great and pious men who were instruments to bring us out of Roman darkness and bondage".<sup>12</sup>

"Every man, according to what way Providence has placed him, is bound to labor for the public good." Thus reasoning from Calvinistic premises, Locke taught a dozen social and economic implications of Calvinism. "Talents" must be productive "for others". Even men not needing a "vocation" for livelihood, "by the law of God are under obligation of doing something". Education was likewise for the benefit of others, and implied avoidance of excess that would injure health, or failure to make best use of talents, whereby "we rob God of so much service and our neighbor of help". Thrift and benevolence insured to "the public good" the fruits of "talents" and "calling". Locke guarded against waste through idleness "or sauntering humour", luxury, disease, vice, crime, and provided for Puritan discipline and inspection like that of Geneva and New England in education, morals, family, church, and community life. He was Calvinistic in his appeal to reason, and a "mind covetous of truth", and his zeal to "enterprise further", make "progress in reformation". In his tolerance—even in his exclusion of those who threatened tolerance itself or the safety of the Commonwealth—Locke was of the liberal Calvinistic type of William the Silent, Cromwell, Milton, Owen, Vane, Roger Williams, and Huet who appealed from "Calvin embittered against Servetus" to "Calvin speaking with tranquil spirit" in his chapter of "Christian Liberty". This social and economic Calvinism appears not merely in Locke's "Study", "Education", "Atlantis", "Pacific Christians", and other writings, but in his practical activities in colonial affairs, for ten years as "presiding genius" of the Board of Trade, and as promoter of reforms in poor-law ad-

<sup>12</sup> King, *op. cit.*, p. 277; Bastide, *Locke*, p. 77; *Works*, IX. 312.

ministration, coinage, banking, censorship of press, and in encouragement of the manufacture of Irish linen. Finally, in his political theories, Locke epitomized the five points of political Calvinism.

If one carefully compares the writings of Calvin and twenty-five Calvinists known to Locke with the latter's *Government*, "Defence of Nonconformity", "Pacific Christians", "Atlantis", *Letters on Toleration*, *Reasonableness of Christianity as delivered in Scripture*, and *A Paraphrase and Notes on St. Paul's Epistles*, one finds ample evidence that Locke was not only distinctively a Biblical Christian, and in many respects markedly evangelical (regarding Christ as his personal Redeemer and Savior, risen from the dead, and to appear as the Judge of all the earth), but he was in worship, discipline, social and economic implications, political theories, and in all essentials of doctrine a Calvinist. It is true he was not of the narrower, scholastic seventeenth-century Calvinists, but rather he imbibed and passed on the moderate liberal Calvinism of the earlier unembittered Calvin and the sixteenth-century creeds, preserved by Huguenots, Independents, sixteenth-century Dutch and Anglicans, and early Remonstrants. Tags are likely to be the misleading refuge of indolent minds, but if a tag is necessary Locke might be called an Anglo-Calvinist, or better an international Calvinist. His Calvinism was the temperate, statesmanlike type of "the judicious Hooker", Bilson, Falkland, Selden, Milton, Cromwell, Owen, Roger Williams, Thomas Hooker, Baxter, Vane, Du Moulin; William the Silent, William III. the Great Elector; Hotman, Mornay, Amyraut, Claude, Huet, Jacquelot—international Calvinism at its best; "filtered through the minds of men who were engaged in the active business of life".<sup>13</sup>

### III.

Through Locke there filtered to the American Revolution five points of political Calvinism held by hundreds of Calvinists, but clarified through his *Civil Government*: fundamental law, natural rights, contract and consent of people, popular sovereignty, resistance to tyranny through responsible representatives.

<sup>13</sup> King, *op. cit.*, pp. 276-278, 295, 347, 358, 301-305; "Toleration", *Works*, V. 13-16, 156; Calvin, *Inst.*, IV. i. 19; iv. 2, 10-11, 15; x. 5, 8, 16, 30, 31; III. xix. 7, 16; II. ii. 12, 14; Rom. i. 28 (cf. Locke, *Paraphrase*, same verse on "reprobate"); Amos, vii. 13. Calamy, *Life of Howe*, pp. 129, 120; Locke, *Education*, sects. 38-40, 45, 110, 123, 208, 210; "Study", King, *op. cit.*, pp. 92-99; *Works*, VIII. 332. Ollion, *Phil. Gén. de Locke* p. 23; Locke, *Paraphrase*, Rom. i. 28; v. 19, 20; i. 17; ix. 11; xi. 6, 7, 11; Ephesians, i. 5. Cf. Calvin's *Comm.*, same passages. Huet, *Apologie pour Vrais Tolérans*, pp. 30-34; Gardiner, *Hist. Eng. from James I.*, II. 122; Foster, *Harv. Theol. Rev.*, XVI. 9-13; Foster, in Munro, *Cyclopaedia of Education*, "Calvinists and Education"; *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXI. 502-503.

(1) From the absolute sovereignty of God and the authority of his Word, Calvin's successor Beza deduced the conclusion of "no other will which is perpetual and immutable, the rule of justice". "God only hath this prerogative: whose sovereignty is absolute, and whose will is a perfect Rule and Reason itself", argued Governor John Winthrop. Baxter reasoned that "God as the sovereign ruler of Mankind hath given him the Law of Nature, commonly called the Moral Law". The Huguenot *Vindiciae contra Tyrannos* calls it the "Law of God". Calvin's dictum, "the written law is nothing but the corroboration of the law of nature", represents the general Calvinistic tendency to identify the law of nature with the law of God, though not with the Old Testament. Calvin, Ponet, the Genevan Version of the Bible, Hotman, Pareus, Junius, Buchanan, Lilburne, and Locke taught that the law of nature was "corroborated", "contained", or "summarized" in that part of Moses's law which was fundamental and moral, not ceremonial.

The fundamental law is definitely called "the law of God and nature" by Beza, Bishop Ponet, Hooker, Hotman, Gentillet, Jurieu, Buchanan, Pareus, Francis Junius, Grotius, and Locke.

This fundamental law sometimes appears as simply the "law of nature" in Calvin, the Dutch Declaration of Independence, Bishop Bilson, Lilburne and the Levellers, John Goodwin, Owen, Vane, John Cotton, Claude, Gentilis (Grotius's predecessor), and Locke. It is also the "law of reason" in Calvin, the Genevan Version, Gentilis, the Huguenots Claude and Francis Junius (of Leyden), Hooker, Sir Edwin Sandys of the Virginia Company (quoted by Sam Adams), the Presbyterian Hunton, and Locke. It is the "law eternal and natural" of Lilburne; the "somewhat fundamental" of Cromwell; "paramount law" of Buchanan; "the great Fundamental Law" of Owen; "the Supreme Law of the Supreme Law-Giver" of Sir Harry Vane, or sometimes his "Fundamental Constitution", a term used also by Hunton, and by the fifty-seven dissenting ministers, 1649; the "*Loy fondamentale*" of Claude and Jurieu, who wrote a pamphlet to show that William III. went to England to establish this. It is the "rule of equity", or "rectitude", in Calvin, Beza, Hotman, the Genevan Version, Gentillet, and Locke. Universally binding, it is sometimes practically identified with the "Law of Nations" by Beza, Hotman, Gentilis, Grotius, Jurieu, Sandys, John Goodwin.

This teaching was effectively utilized to check any arbitrary power that violated the fundamental law of God, nature, reason, equity, law of nations, or fundamental constitution of the land, to

which all men even kings were subject. "For the sovereign is not above the laws of God, nature, and nations", based upon "perpetual custom, good sense and right reason". Thus the teaching of scores of Calvinists before Locke was summed up in a pamphlet defending the English Revolution, in French, Dutch, and English, written in 1689 by the Huguenot Jurieu, some of whose books Locke owned.<sup>14</sup>

Calvinists made no pretense of originating the idea of a law of nature, but constantly cited in its support not only Scripture but also Roman law and classical writers. To discover, as Troeltsch has done, medieval and classical elements is to reveal a Calvinistic, not an uncalvinistic trait. The Calvinistic contribution is to systematize and apply the combination of medieval, humanistic, and Scriptural knowledge and to "take the next step", when that is made plain by "nature, natural clarity of thought and God himself through the words of St. Paul", as Beza put it. Both Beza and Hotman refuse to be bound literally by the Roman law, but make distinctions enabling them to teach that kings are bound by *public* law. The "Word of God" they not only accepted as fundamental law but utilized it as "a rule of righteousness to influence our lives" (in Locke's phrase), and as a concrete means of checking tyranny. "Enterprising further", they applied this idea of a "written law" to written constitutions for both church and state. Scores of such fundamental written laws—the "Lawes and Statutes of Geneva", Dutch Declaration of Independence and Union of Utrecht, Edict of Nantes, Puritan constitutional documents in Scotland, Old and New England (of nation, colony, town, and church), and the Bill of Rights of 1689—illustrate the Calvinistic habit of embodying convictions in written form and working institutions. Locke himself not only believed in a fundamental "law of nature", "contained in the book of the law of Moses", but also drew up a written constitution for a church of the Independent, Huguenot type, and for the colony of Carolina, with its remarkable provisions for tolerance. The idea of fundamental law was put into successful practice in the Revolution of 1688, and was combined by Locke and other Cal-

<sup>14</sup> Jurieu, *Lettres Pastorales*, Lett. XVIII., III. 399, 426; *Apologie* (Eng. trans.), p. 23; *State Tracts*, I. 188. Rare Huguenot pamphlets are in Soc. Hist. Prot. Franç., and Bib. Nat., Paris; British Museum; Harvard; Prince Library, Congregational (Boston); McAlpine Coll., Union Theol. Sem. Gentilis, *De Jure Belli*, III. xvi. 363 (ed. 1877); cf. Grotius, *Proleg.*, sects. 8-17; Locke, *Government*, sects. 5, 6, 87, 135, 142; *Paraphrase*, Rom. v. 14. References for fundamental law, contract, popular sovereignty, resistance, Foster, "Political Theories of Calvinists", *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXI. 481-503.

vinists with the other points in political Calvinism into a working system.

(2) Rights, bestowed by God and based upon his fundamental law of nature, were a part of both divine and human nature and therefore natural and inalienable. Calvin in his Commentary on Romans (iii. 29) dropped fertile seeds. "God made the whole human race equal and placed them under one condition." "It is a law of nature that all men are formed in the image of God and are to be brought up in the hope of blessed eternity." Calvin's *Institutes* held "reason a natural talent", and on the basis of "the divine word and the experience of common sense" discovered God-given "principles of equity", "seeds of justice and also some seeds of political order sown in the minds of all", "some desire of investigating truth", and "making new discoveries", especially in "civil polity, domestic economy, all the mechanical arts and liberal sciences" (II. ii. 12-14; III. xix. 7). Such inspiring conceptions of human possibilities, sown by Calvin and ripened among Huguenots, Independents, Dutch, and Scots, came to fruition in Locke and America.

Beza and Hotman taught *le droit naturel* of "equity and justice"; Hotman, the "natural right of liberty", "not only of body but of spirit which yields not to fire or sword but to persuasion", a principle of toleration oft repeated by Huguenot, Dutch, and Puritan down to Locke.<sup>15</sup> The Genevan-bred Pareus of Heidelberg, in his widely read and quoted *Commentaries on Romans* (ix. p. 717; xiii. p. 1057), reasoned that such essential rights coming from God were inalienable. Grotius taught cautiously, and the orthodox Calvinist Gronovius more vigorously (in notes authorized by the Dutch government) the doctrine of resistance based upon a natural right to violate "commands against natural or divine law". "Relying upon the Bible we maintain liberty" was the significant motto of the Dutch florin of 1681 commemorating the centennial of their Declaration of Independence.

That all men were created equal by natural law or law of God was taught by Calvin; Amyrault, Saumaise, and Jurieu; Hooker, Lilburne (brought up on Calvin and Calvinists), and the Levellers; Roger Williams, and Sidney. That they were born free was maintained by Hotman and Saumaise; the Scottish Presbyterian Rutherford; Roger Williams, Milton, Vane, Sidney, Lewis du Moulin. That all men were born free and equal was held by Saumaise, and two of Locke's fellow-exiles in Holland, Jurieu and Sidney, by

<sup>15</sup> Hotman, *Politique*, in *Mém. Chas. IX.*, III. 89-90; Locke, *Government*, sects. 4-6, 61, 87, 95, 112; *Letters on Toleration*.



Roger Williams (a good Calvinist), who stood "for liberty and equality", and by Locke. Locke's natural right of property had been taught by Beza, Pareus, the Levellers, and the First Agreement of the People. Liberty of conscience as a natural right was taught by Hotman and the famous Huguenot pastor Claude, whose book Locke owned and whose position he supported against Louis XIV.; in England by Owen, Vane, and the First Agreement of the People; and as an inviolable right by a list, too long to catalogue here, of some sixty Calvinists in Geneva, France, Holland, Scotland, Ireland, Germany, Hungary, England, and America. Locke's *Epistola de Tolerantia* so closely resembled the teaching of Huguenots that it was attributed to one of them by a contemporary Huguenot, an error curiously repeated by recent Huguenot scholars, Haag and Puaux.

Reason as a natural right had been taught before Locke by Calvin, Beza, Baxter, Du Moulin. Gentilis, Grotius's forerunner, had drawn the logical conclusion: "man is a rational creature, therefore the Prince must be subject to reason."<sup>16</sup> Many other Puritans, Huguenots, and international Calvinists had made the appeal to reason. Before Locke, practically all his natural rights of equality, liberty, life, property, conscience, and reason had been taught by Calvinists as corollaries of the fundamental law of God and nature which created man free, equal, and rational. Locke was familiar with a dozen of these writers, and also with the revolutions on Calvinistic principles in Scotland, France, Holland, and England, which had fought for these rights, culminating in the Revolution of 1688.

(3) The idea of a "mutual relation" between God and man was implied in the Calvinists' thought of the "Word of God". They taught a like mutual relation between ruler and people. "Every commonwealth", said Calvin, "rests upon laws and agreements", and "the mutual obligations of head and members." "Regal power was nothing but a mutual covenant between king and people", said the Scottish commissioners, justifying to Elizabeth their "demonstration" of Mary, and quoting Calvin's teaching. This contract idea, embodied by one of the commissioners, Buchanan, in his much-quoted book, passed on through his pupil James I., who was quoted by Locke. Buchanan, Milton, Vane, Prynne, Baxter, Du Moulin, and John Cotton draw the logical conclusion that "the rights of him who dissolves the contract are forfeited".<sup>17</sup>

<sup>16</sup> *De Jure Belli*, III. xvi. 363.

<sup>17</sup> Milton, *Tenure of Kings*, p. 37; Buchanan, *De Jure Regni apud Scotos*, p. 196; Locke, *Government*, sects. 15, 97, 102, 138, 140-142 (cf. Sam Adams, I. 55, and Stamp Act Congress, sect. 2), 200 (James I.).

This doctrine of a mutual contract, for violation of which the people or their representatives should resist the ruler, had been taught by over sixty Calvinists, and successfully practised by Calvinists in six countries before Locke popularized it in his *Government*. Calvin's teachings and the Genevan example, reasserted explicitly by Knox and Buchanan, voted by the Scottish General Assembly and in identical words by Parliament, 1567, had been successfully reasserted in the Scottish National Covenant of 1638 against the attempt of Charles I. and Laud to violate church government and worship; and in 1643 was again incorporated in the Solemn League and Covenant which united Scottish Covenanters and English Puritans against the arbitrary government of Charles.

In England, the contract theory was taught by Calvinists of all sorts: Bishop Bilson in his *True Difference*, justifying the successful Scottish, Dutch, and Huguenot resistance, cited in Locke's *Government*; Hooker, Locke's chief reference after Scripture; three Presbyterians, Walter Travers and Cartwright (both Genevan-bred disciples of Beza) and Hunton, cited by Locke; the Italians Peter Martyr and Gentilis; Pym, Sir John Eliot, Prynne, Bradshaw in the trial of Charles I., John Goodwin in its defense, Sidney, Baxter, Lewis du Moulin, and Locke's friend Tyrrell. Locke himself regarded his Constitutions of Carolina as a compact, speaking of it thus in article 97 and providing for its signature as a "sacred and unalterable form". Finally, the Convention Parliament of 1689 justified the Revolution on the Calvinistic grounds: "that King James having endeavored to subvert the constitution of the kingdom by breaking the original contract between King and people . . . having violated the Fundamental law and having withdrawn himself hath abdicated, and that the throne is vacant."

In France, the "mutual, reciprocal obligation between people and ruler", taught in Beza's *De Jure Magistratum*, Hotman's *Franco-Gallia*, and by Mornay (as author or editor) in the *Vindiciae contra Tyrannos*, was exemplified in the Edict of Nantes, wrested from their ex-Calvinist king by the Huguenot's persistent "Political General Assembly". It was reasserted (after the Revocation) on the ground that this edict was a contract, by Mornay's grandson De Vigny and six other Huguenot fellow-exiles, three at least familiar to Locke through books owned by him—Claude, Ancillon, and Jurieu.

Finally the contract theory and resistance based upon it, urged by Mornay and the Huguenots upon the Dutch, proclaimed by William the Silent and incorporated into the Declaration of Independ-

ence, reasserted by Grotius, Gronovius, and the exiles in Holland, was again, through William the Silent's great grandson, William III., assisted by another convinced Calvinist, the Great Elector of Brandenburg-Cleves, and by international Calvinists, authors, diplomats, soldiers, from six lands, translated into fact in the Revolution and the Bill of Rights.

Closely allied with the contract was the consent of the people, a theory sometimes passing imperceptibly into the sovereignty of the people. The consent of the people is of extraordinary significance among Calvinists because it also passed from the church to the state. The Huguenots "wish", said their leader, D'Huisseau, "to extend to the state the liberty they permit themselves in the affairs of religion. They believe that if they may control the views of officials in church in the service of God they ought to be also free to judge the conduct of those who are established over them in civil government".<sup>18</sup> It is not surprising that this step was actually taken by Calvin in Geneva, and his followers in Scotland, France, and England. Locke had observed the principle of consent in the Huguenot church government at Nîmes, 1676, contrasted it favorably with the overweening powers of "episcopacies" in his "Defence of Nonconformity", 1682, incorporated it into his plan for *Civil Government*, 1690. In thus "taking the next step", carrying over from the church to the state the principle of consent of the people, Locke followed the footsteps of a dozen Calvinists: Calvin, Beza, Ponet, the widely read Genevan Version of the Bible, Cartwright, Thomas Hooker, John Cotton, Roger Williams, Huguenot national synods and "Political General Assemblies", Scottish Assembly and Parliament, Baynes, the Levellers, Du Moulin, and Jurieu. This tendency of Calvinists to extend from church to state the consent of people and ideas of republican government is corroborated by a score of critics: conservative Calvinists like Archbishop Whitgift, kings like James I. and Henry IV. who had suffered at the hands of men they recognized as logically opposed to their kind of monarchy, Cardinal Richelieu, the ex-Calvinist Grotius the part-time Calvinist Bayle, and Voltaire.

This habit of transferring ecclesiastical principles to the state was exhibited regarding other Calvinistic teachings. Locke's *Government* reproached the supporters of political absolutism, "who, relying on him [Hooker] for their ecclesiastical polity", refuse to apply his teachings to civil government, and so "deny those principles on which he builds". Hooker's principles which Locke in

<sup>18</sup> *Réunion du Christianisme* (Saumur, 1679), pp. 197-198.

Calvinistic fashion carried over from church to state were the Calvinistic teachings of fundamental law, natural rights, contract and consent of the people.

(4) Believing that rulers received their power by consent of the people, and could govern only when they observed their contract, the logically minded Calvinist was bound in time to "take the next step" and recognize the sovereignty of the people. Calvin foresaw that this question would arise, "when rulers break faith with the people", but he felt it to be untimely, with the danger of civil war and commotions toward the close of his life especially in France, to discuss the question. "Calvin looks askint that way", as Filmer justly remarked, and went so far as to teach that magistrates were "responsible to God and the people".

Before Calvin's death, Bishop Ponet, Knox, and Goodman published at Geneva books teaching that kings are "but a portion and member of the people"; "people are not ordained for kings, but kings ordained for the people", "the whole Congregation or Commonwealth" in Ponet's significant phrase. "The common people", said Goodman, "must see that their Princes be subject to God's Lawes". A year later, Goodman, Knox, and the "Congregation" in Scotland were putting their principles into practice and asserting Calvin's approval, as Goodman had already done in his *How Superior Powers Ought to be Obeyed*. That "People were not made for kings but kings for the people", was a favorite Calvinist teaching, proclaimed by these "ancient Puritans at Geneva"; by four Huguenot famous publications after St. Bartholomew (Hotman's *Politique*, *Reveille*, *Matin*, and *Franco-Gallia*, and Beza's *De Jure Magistratuum*); by the Dutch Declaration of Independence; by Goodwin's "Defence of the Sentence against the King"; by Jurieu, on the eve of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes; on the eve of the English Revolution by Tronchin, and after it, by the *Sept Sages de France à leur Roi Louis XIV.*

"Souveraineté" Hotman applied to the people; but he identified them with the "estates composed of the body of all the people". The *Vindiciae* taught that "the sovereign is the whole people or those who represent the people, like the estates", adding the homely touch, "kings are of the same dough as others . . . raised by the people". This same alternative of people or their representatives made by Hotman, Beza, and the *Vindiciae* was repeated in Locke's *Government*: "there remains still in the people a supreme power", but "the legislative is the supreme power while government subsists" (sects. 134-138, 149, 150). What Figgis says of the *Vindiciae*

is also true of Hotman, Beza, and Jurieu: "It is hard to overestimate the resemblance between the ideas of Locke and the author of the *Vindiciae*."

A year before Locke's *Government*, Jurieu reproduced the arguments of Beza and the *Vindiciae*, and lifted (errors and all) nineteen passages from Hotman's *Franco-Gallia* to prove that "the Sovereign power is in the hands of the people and of assemblies composed of its deputies". This *Soupirs de France Esclave* was immediately translated into Dutch, English, and Spanish; and on the eve of the French Revolution reprinted anonymously (*Les Voeux d'un Patriote*) as a plea for a meeting of the States-General. It was in Mirabeau's library with Calvin's *Institutes*, Beza's *De Jure*, Hotman's *Franco-Gallia*, the *Vindiciae*, Milton, Locke, and John Adams—a chain from Reformation through the three revolutions of 1688, 1776, 1789. Jurieu's *Apologie pour leurs Majestés Britanniques*, 1689, justifying the Revolution on grounds of sovereignty of people and violation of compact, was immediately translated into Dutch, "Englished", and published in *State Tracts*. "This pretended sovereignty of the people you have resurrected from the tomb of Buchanan, Junius Brutus (author of *Vindiciae*) and Milton", complained Bayle who found this in Jurieu and Locke, and as "the gospel of the day among Protestants". The striking similarity between Jurieu and Locke, in basing resistance upon contract, natural rights, and popular sovereignty, pointed out by Lureau and Van Ordt, has been summed up by Lacour-Gayet. "Jurieu quite as much as Locke deserves to be called the theorist of the Revolution of 1688." Their common residence in Amsterdam, service of William III., and interest in Bayle and the Socinian controversy, and Locke's ownership of Jurieu's books on this subject indicate Locke's knowledge of Jurieu.<sup>19</sup>

Milton, like Jurieu, Baxter, and Pareus (whom he quotes), taught that the people are the "proximate" or direct cause of sovereignty. Popular sovereignty had been also taught by the Dutch Declaration of Independence, Grotius, the Puritan Army, and Cromwell ("the supremacy is in the people—radically in them—and to be set down by them in their representation"), by Ireton and the Levelers, Thomas Hooker, John Goodwin, Vane, and Sidney. Locke

<sup>19</sup> Cf. *Franco-Gallia* (*Mém. Chas. IX.*), II. 406-411; *Soupirs de France*, VI. 84-92. The Catholic Monarchomachist Boucher also lifted from *Franco-Gallia* in *De Justa Henrici III. Abdicatione*, cap. XVII. Locke (sovereignty and resistance), *Government*, sects. 149-151, 195, 200, 202, 210-217, 220-222. Acknowledgment is made to Earl Lovelace for permission to examine Lord King's half of Locke's library. The other half, probably containing more Huguenot books, has disappeared.

repeats this teaching of over thirty international Calvinists, with the majority of whom he was familiar.

(5) The doctrine of resistance to tyranny through responsible representatives or "Ephors" first taught in Calvin's *Institutes* (IV. xx. 31), was repeated not merely by half a dozen (as Gierke's scholarly work on Althusius indicated) but by some twenty-eight Calvinists before Locke, sometimes with a quotation, but at least using the term "Ephor" and the essential provision. Calvin's passage quoted by the Scottish commissioners to Elizabeth in defense of their "demission" of Mary, was requoted in Camden's *Annals*, Milton, and Grotius, and attacked by Bayle.

To the refutation of the passage Heylin devoted a book, 1657, and to its defense Harrington another, 1659. Calvin's teaching was cited by Prynne, 1643, Rutherford (*Lex Rex*, 1644), and another Scot, John Brown, in his *Apologetical Narrative* justifying Scottish resistance to tyranny. These three writers, with Milton, Buchanan, and twenty other Calvinists, were condemned in the famous Oxford University decree, July 21, 1683, a month before Locke sought safety in Holland. Of the thirty-two authors thus put on the High Church *Index* for their teaching of the doctrines of resistance to tyranny based upon fundamental law, natural rights, contract, and popular sovereignty, all but seven were Calvinists. Calvin's teaching of the "Ephors" was also utilized by William the Silent, by Buchanan, in Germany by Althusius, Alstedius, and Peter Martyr, by Beza, Hotman, Daneau, and the *Vindiciae*, Ponet, Fenner, Knight, Bradshaw in the trial of Charles I., John Goodwin in his *Defence* of that trial, Sidney, and Locke's friends Baxter and Tyrrell. In addition to the twenty-eight using Calvin's teaching and phraseology, twenty more followed Calvin's reasoning as to the duty of active resistance by representatives ordained for the protection of the people. Among these were Jurieu, Hunton, Baxter, Owen, all known to Locke.

As Locke linked the doctrine of resistance through the "legislative" with the idea of contract or consent of the people, so had Calvin, Peter Martyr, Beza, the *Vindiciae*, Bilson, Fenner, Althusius, Milton, Bradshaw, and Vane. Resistance combined with the other Calvinistic political theories taught by Locke, sovereignty of the people, fundamental law and "vocation" (like that of Ephors or Parliament), was also taught by scores of Calvinists. In Hungary, Bocskay and the Calvinists secured their civil and religious liberties through resistance on the part of the representative assembly, and embodied their rights in a written charter, 1606. In 1608 their



representative assembly (like the Scots and Huguenots) refused the royal command to adjourn; and on grounds singularly like those of 1688 (violation of the compact, and desertion by the king) deposed Rudolph and elected his successor.<sup>20</sup>

In each Calvinistic revolution there was shrewd linking of theory with practice. Thus the success of the earlier revolutions was cited over ninety times by Calvinists to justify the later: the Scottish example by the Huguenots; both these by William the Silent and the Dutch; all three in Bilson's justification of English aid to Scots, Huguenots, and Dutch; and in many pamphlets urging or defending the Revolution of 1688. A striking example of this continuity of Calvinistic influence was the act of Convocation, 1606, justifying English aid to Dutch and Huguenots on the ground: "when any such new forms of government, begun by Rebellion, are after thoroughly settled, the authority in them is of God." Publication of Overall's *Convocation Book* containing this was suppressed at James's request. In 1689, put into print by the Archbishop of Canterbury, it induced Sherlock, Master of the Temple, to accept William and justify the Revolution in *The Case of Allegiance to Sovereign Powers Stated*.

The Revolution was carried through by a felicitous combination of Anglicans and Dissenters; but they combined by abandoning High-Church Anglican passive obedience, and accepting Calvinistic teachings of resistance to tyranny by a representative body and on the basis of contract, fundamental law, and natural rights. The Revolution is unthinkable without these theories and the Puritan and other successful revolutions based upon them. It was impossible without the support of the Dissenters, like Howe and Bunyan, Baxter and Kiffin, and their congregations. It was, under Anglican auspices, actually carried out largely by an extraordinary combination of Calvinists, English Dissenters, Scottish and Brandenburg Calvinists, William III. and the sturdy Dutch, Huguenot diplomats, gold, ships, sailors, and 696 young officers forming the *cadres* of the army so successfully welded and wielded by William's right-hand man, the Huguenot marshal, Schomburg.

The Revolution of 1688 which Locke aided and justified, and his own teaching of resistance to tyranny through responsible representatives, which he based upon fundamental law, contract, natural rights, and sovereignty of the people, were in the main historical outgrowths of international Calvinism. This is not to assert that

<sup>20</sup> *Corpus Juris Hungarici*, I. 643; E. Csuday, *Geschichte der Ungarn*, übersetzt von M. Darvai, II. 67-97.

no other elements entered into Locke or the Revolution. Calvinists did not claim to be original. They built upon the past; but they "took the next step", possibly the most distinguishing contribution of Calvinism. Ancient and medieval writers had taught fundamental law, natural rights, contract, sovereignty of the people, obedience to God rather than man. Each of these teachings Calvinists carried a step further, notably in changing passive refusal to obey into active resistance through lay representatives following a "calling", ordained of God, and responsible, not to "God and the Church", but to "God and the people". With a possible exception on this point, the contribution of Calvinism was not in originating, but in (1) carrying theories to logical conclusions; (2) tying them all together into a workable system; (3) developing the type of people capable of putting them into practice; (4) demonstrating that their principles worked successfully in practice.

In civil and ecclesiastical government, worship, social and economic implications, and fundamental doctrines Locke, absorbing the international Calvinism of Independent, Anglican, Huguenot, Dutch, and German, remained, until after he had written his *Civil Government*, a moderate Calvinist of the sixteenth-century type, the sort of Englishman described by Thomas Long in his *Calvinus Redivivus* of 1673. "You shall find it all one to be a moderate Calvinist and a sober Conformist." Constantly striving to bring both Anglican and Nonconformist to the earlier "moderate and sober" type, Locke himself typifies the Calvinism productive of civil and religious liberty that filtered from international sources through this calm thinker and man of affairs. The Calvinism assimilated and carried over by Locke possessed the liberal, international character of the Calvinistic commonwealths founded or expanded by thousands of exiles for conscience' sake—shrewd Genevan traders, prosperous Huguenot artisans and bankers, indomitable Dutch merchants, canny Scots, thrifty Scotch-Irish, and resourceful Puritans, and the Calvinists from all these lands who made up the majority of the seventeenth-century colonists in America.

Locke and the men like-minded with him, determined Calvinists, "sober and discreet" (to use his own description) supporters of liberty and law, illustrate the dictum of Locke's admirer Webster concerning the Puritans. "The determined spirit of no compromise with moral evil sharpened the sight for the discovery of political evils." "The enquiry was not whether the thing was bearable but whether it was right." Although Webster, like Locke, disliked elaborate creeds, he concluded, "I verily believe creeds had something to do with the Revolution".

The large and convincing mass of first-hand evidence proves that international Calvinism filtered through Locke and the Revolution of 1688. It also substantiates four sound conclusions as to the joint influence of Locke and other Calvinists: Bayle's statement, 1693, that Locke's teachings in his *Civil Government* were "the gospel of the day among Protestants"; the cartoon of 1769 linking Locke with Calvin and Sidney in colonial resistance to tyranny; Webster's conclusion, "creeds had something to do with the Revolution"; and Dean Tucker's remark, "the Americans have made the maxims of Locke the ground of the present war".

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## THE HISTORY OF AMERICAN IMMIGRATION AS A FIELD FOR RESEARCH

THE fact that the American Historical Association's Committee on Research has listed the history of immigration among the topics that stand in need of investigation makes unnecessary any discussion of its importance. The addition to our population between 1815 and 1914 of more than thirty million Europeans, and their services in the national development of that century, constitute an era in colonial history no less significant to our future than the two centuries that preceded. In time the change in sovereignty that occurred in 1776 will be regarded as an unnatural dividing line, and settlement will be viewed as a continuous process from the beginnings in 1607 to the close in 1914. The term "immigration", however, is in usage generally restricted to the period since the Revolution or more specifically to the more modern period characterized by individual as distinguished from group migration. Earlier the settler came in a company bringing with it all the instruments of community life; later a social atom detached itself from one society and attached itself to another the framework of which was already constructed.

The pioneers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries looked upon themselves as exiles, driven from their native land by an intolerant government or a hopeless material condition. Their successors were never quite clear as to motives. Sometimes they considered themselves exiles; at other times they were fortune-hunters. Whether they left Europe because they could no longer live in it or because they could live so much better in America, they never quite decided. But the distinction is fundamental. In the one case the causes are to be found in Europe; in the other in America. Either the immigrants were expelled or they were attracted.

A study of the various waves which have marked high points in the westward tide reveals a limited geographical origin for each. "Old" and "new" are the adjectives used to describe the shift from Northern and Western Europe to the South and East in the course of the century. But this general movement is no more significant than the changes within the two areas. At any given time the phenomenon of emigration appears not in a nation as a whole, but in a comparatively restricted part of that nation; and when it again makes its appearance, though the emigrants may still be listed as Germans or Italians, their origin is distinct. In every case the exodus is accompa-

nied in that district by a social and economic reorganization usually indicating an adjustment to modern life. Such reorganizations have taken place without emigration to America. But they are always accompanied by changes in population—sometimes a drift to the cities, sometimes a movement to hitherto waste lands or to other parts of Europe. On occasion they have resulted in a congestion of population which has produced great social unrest. To the United States their members have gone only when American industry was prospering, and each wave of migration coincides with an era of unusual business activity. During the century, therefore, it may be said that America was a huge magnet of varying intensity drawing to itself the people of Europe from those regions where conditions made them mobile and from which transportation provided a path. American conditions determined the duration and height of the waves; European the particular source.

Accordingly, both Europe and America are the field for research. Because students of nineteenth-century Europe have concentrated so prevaillingly upon the political developments, the student of American immigration will be forced to do much pioneer work which at first glance seems to have little bearing on his topic. How extensive these researches must be may be understood from the suggestion that emigration has been connected with as many phases of European life as immigration has of American life. Freedom to move, desire to move, and means to move summarize these phases. But each is a wide field. Freedom to move involves the process by which the remaining feudal bands were loosened and the systems of land tenure revolutionized; in short, that break-up of the solidarity of the community which, in making the individual mobile, forced him to shift for himself. Desire to move concerns political and economic, social and psychological motives, and its roots may be found now in one, now in the other of the great movements of the century. How the emigrant obtained the means to move is a part of the history of the transfer of property and of the development of land and sea transportation.<sup>1</sup>

Until a cheap, safe, and individual crossing of the Atlantic was provided, any mass emigration was impossible. A description of

<sup>1</sup> The student will be led into a consideration of topics such as these: the legal development of the right of emigration; military obligations affecting emigration; marriage laws, standards of living, birth and death rates in relation to the growth of population in any given region; migration to cities; division of the common lands; formation of a class of mobile agricultural laborers; laws of tenancy; decline of household industry; changes in systems of land culture—arable or grazing; religious movements and ecclesiastical policy; social results of the revolutions of 1848; transport policies of European railroads; effects of competition with American agriculture; effect of crop failures and years of scarcity; popular knowledge of America.

the transport difficulties of the eighteenth century would be a fitting introduction to an appreciation of this factor in the nineteenth. A study of the emigrant trade from the days when the captain made a winter journey inland to solicit passengers for his annual spring voyage to the time when no village was without its agency and not a day passed without a speedy emigrant ship leaving some European port would be a contribution to the history of both migration and commerce. But much preliminary work must be done, as the subject is bound up with technical progress, sanitary regulations, and the economics of return cargoes.<sup>2</sup>

When upon the high seas the emigrant was in the hands of some shipping company and its policies constituted a vital factor in his movements. After the Civil War the rivalries of the lines were often the dominant factor, as would be shown by a study of the competition of the German and English companies for the control of the Scandinavian trade, or the more general struggle to capture that of the Mediterranean. There were rate wars waged upon the North Atlantic which determined the extent and character of American immigration in certain years; and the treaties of peace which closed these wars had more influence upon the movement in succeeding years than any contemporary American legislation. Every port of embarkation has its history, concerned on the one hand with the development of its interior net of communication and on the other with the nature of its Atlantic commerce. Thus the tobacco trade of Bremen, the cotton trade of Havre, and the timber trade of Liverpool have dictated the American terminus of the voyage and thereby determined the racial complexion of certain sections. Were the archives of shipping companies opened we could see the agents in operation, and how, when one reservoir of mankind was becoming exhausted, steps were already being taken to educate another in the advantages of emigration.

Though the American tariff policy has long been a subject of historical research, the development of the legal conditions under which the most valuable of all our imports has entered is entirely neglected. The state laws of immigration and settlement are usually characterized as dead letters, but neither the shippers nor the immigrants thought of them as such. The assumption of regulation by the federal government was the culmination of a long agitation which

<sup>2</sup> Some definite subjects will indicate the wide range of interests involved: reasons for the domination of Americans in the trade from 1820 to 1850; effects of the repeal of the British Navigation Laws in 1849; transfer of shipping to other activities in bringing about a sudden decline, as in 1855; transition, in the carriage of emigrants, from sailing vessels to steamships (1860-1870) in relation to price and in relation to the disappearance of the American flag from the seas.



concerned the Supreme Court, the transportation companies, the labor unions, and the farmers. A cross-section of all these influences could be obtained by studying the Immigration Convention which met in Cincinnati in 1870. The progress of the movement for restriction, leading up to the present-day legislation, involves much social and political history but there is need of a concise presentation. Castle Garden and Ellis Island are each worthy of a volume; and the administration of laws, the labor bureaus, and the welfare activities at Boston, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Charleston, and New Orleans should not be neglected.

In the history of immigration no subject is more important than that of the process of distribution. Not only did it determine the permanent location of races, but its methods have been agents of Americanization and its phases have marked eras in national development. It is unfortunate that statisticians have not been located at Buffalo and Pittsburgh and at the bridges across the Mississippi to record the migrations westward. Their figures would show the rise and fall of the movements, indicating waves not unlike the waves of immigration. The years and extent of the flow, however, have been obtained from other sources. They may be related to the waves of immigration and at once a significant fact is revealed. They do not coincide. Immigration and distribution are two distinct movements, chronologically related; and the periods of small immigration are periods of continental dispersion.

This is the more remarkable because the old immigration is recognized as being one of land-seekers. But the majority did not reach the land directly. To do so, either they would be obliged to settle upon the frontier, or they must be possessed of sufficient means to offer a price which would induce the established farmer to sell. As frontiersmen they were not successful. Neither by training nor by temperament were they fitted. As purchasers their resources were usually limited. Accordingly they reached the land through the medium of industry—an intermediate stage—becoming farmers when their finances improved or industry failed them.

Immigration and dispersion were part of the same cycle. A period of industrial activity created optimism and American capital looked to the future. Railroads, canals, and highways were built, and cities were improved with business blocks and more pretentious homes. Coal and iron mines were opened, furnaces put into blast, and rolling-mills into operation. There was apparently a limitless demand for labor, and every immigrant who could handle a spade filled his pockets with gold. Many who arrived to seek land, lured

by the high wages, postponed their intentions. The farmer was prosperous with an ever expanding home market, and he called for hands to increase his production. But it was overdone. Capital employed in transportation was put into a fixed form, unremunerative until surrounding lands were settled and local trade stimulated. The weight of obligations exceeded the earning capacity, and collapse ensued. Unemployment faced millions; there was no prospect of revival; and the farmer, who had usually mortgaged his estate to buy more lands or to make improvements, was ruined.

So to save himself he went west. The railroads offered him their lands and he began anew in the wilderness. The immigrant of a few months' or years' residence was without his job, but if he could not earn wages he could at least raise his own bread; and with his savings he bought the semi-improved farm that the American deserted. Others lacked the courage for even this mid-frontier venture and they returned to Europe, forming that eastward migration so noticeable in all periods of depression. Bringing gloomy reports they helped to stem the tide that had already been checked by the arrival of discouraging letters and the decline in the number of prepaid passages. A period of immigration had ceased and one of dispersion commenced.

Thereupon new states began to appear in the West. Millions of acres were homesteaded; the railroads strengthened their position by the sale of lands. Vast areas were put under cultivation, and fertility so cheapened production that new markets were captured. Soon the settler could afford to buy more than necessities. Activities at the stores in the new villages began to increase, and their orders influenced the cities. The little tricklings of exchange began to roll together into a great current of prosperity. Optimism returned. The furnaces were relighted, factory wheels moved, and the instruments of expansion reached westward into new fields. Again there was a call for labor. But the immigrant farmer would not leave his soil and if his son responded it was to serve in the higher ranks. Then through millions of human channels it became known in Europe that things in America had changed, that employment was abundant and wages good, and a new migration was in motion.

It is through some such hypothesis that the history of immigrant distribution should be approached. The immediate destination of immigrants during each of the eras of prosperity should be studied and their participation in the landward movements following the crises in 1819, 1837, 1842, 1857, 1873 determined. The return European migrations after 1893 and 1907, when it was easier for the immigrant to obtain land in Italy than in America, should receive

special attention. Not until much detailed work has been done can a theory of distribution be stated; but the investigation of many of its single aspects will be valuable contributions towards such a theory.

Before the days of the railroads the immigrants considered the journey from the seaport to the interior as difficult a stage of their migration as crossing the Atlantic. Often it was, in fact, as expensive and lasted as long. The immigrant trade on the great natural highways—the Hudson River, the Mississippi, the Ohio, and the Great Lakes—should be studied in the same way as that of the Atlantic, in relation to the commerce. Pittsburgh and Buffalo, Chicago and St. Louis should be investigated as immigrant distributing centres. Local ordinances and police regulations will reveal how the hotels, land offices, and labor exchanges were regulated. The reasons for the popularity of certain states or regions at certain times, as Pennsylvania and Illinois in the 'twenties, Missouri and Ohio in the 'thirties, Wisconsin in the 'forties, and Iowa and Michigan in the 'fifties, will be profitable studies in both transportation and publicity.

With the era of internal improvements a new factor in distribution appears. The census of 1850, the first providing statistics of foreign-born by counties, reveals all lines of communication bordered with heavy alien percentages. These represent in part accessibility and in part the residue left by the construction gangs. An analysis should be made of the labor policy of canals and railroads—the hierarchy of contractors and subcontractors, the recruiting of men, labor conditions, and the preservation of order. The history of a "shanty town" may be as rich in primitive self-government as any mining gulch in California and marks the first participation of its inhabitants in American democracy.

These alien fringes were sometimes caused by the labor being stranded by the absconding of the contractor, but more often they represent the permanent staff necessary for the up-keep of every mile of the canal or railroad, those who judiciously chose uncleared lands or snapped up an opportunity in improved farms, and those who were drawn in by the stimulated industrial activity. A study of biographies, in local histories or obituary notices, will reveal how often the nucleus of a later extended foreign settlement was formed by such pioneers. When the railroads and canals possessed lands themselves, their land policy will explain much settlement. That the great Western railroads rank with the colonial trading companies as American colonizers is becoming recognized, but the influence of the railroads in the older sections should not be overlooked. The opening of the Erie Railroad, for instance, brought thousands of newly arrived immigrants into southern New York and northern Pennsylvania.

Access to a market was demanded by the foreigner who settled upon the land, whereas the native American was more self-sufficing.

When the railroad net was completed to the Mississippi the carriage of immigrants became an important feature, sought by the railroads not only for the immediate revenue or disposal of their lands, but for the more permanent income to be derived from settlement. Hence tickets were sold in the interior villages of Europe, alliances were formed with steamship lines, competition was bitter in the ports, and rates were reduced to ridiculous figures, as in the railroad war of 1885 when for a time the flat rate from New York to Chicago was only a dollar. The varying policies of individual roads, the relation of rates to settlement in any area, the agreements with certain industries for the supply of labor, as well as the history of the immigrant train itself as an institution, are all topics concerning this third and final stage of migration worthy of investigation. Nor should the "home seekers" excursions be forgotten which in times of industrial depression drew away from congested centres those who had settled in the cities.

Land companies and individual landowners supplemented the activities of the railroads. The rise of the great land fortunes of America, the creation of these estates of hundreds of thousands and even millions of acres, is a phase of American settlement as yet obscure. But the dissolution of these estates will be found to be intimately connected with the immigration of foreigners, as the advertisements in the German and English agricultural journals of the 'seventies and 'eighties unmistakably reveal. Agents of such estates may also be found operating in the European villages, sticking their posters in the public houses, lecturing to the improvement clubs, and, allied with the railroad and state representatives, smoothing all the difficulties of migration. Though it was in the last quarter of the century that this mode of settlement is most noticeable, the same influence operated from the very beginning and often was instrumental in determining the permanent character of a given region. Thus it was probably the opening of the Astor lands at an opportune moment that turned the tide of Germans to Wisconsin.

There were other factors exerting a positive influence upon the process of distribution. Religious ties, which must be interpreted as including language and social customs as well as spiritual needs, determined the location of many; and those church statesmen who had at heart the future of their faith used this sentiment for the benefit of both the settler and his organization. The early history of many rural parishes will show how the minister or priest turned solicitor and by working quietly year after year changed his feeble missionary

charge into a vigorous church. Ecclesiastical administrators undertook comprehensive plans, the Catholic Church producing a group of colonizing bishops, Fenwick of Boston, Ireland of St. Paul, and Byrne of Little Rock, the activities of each of whom will repay study. The Irish Colonization Convention which met at Buffalo in February, 1856, upon the suggestion of D'Arcy McGee, proved a failure; but an analysis of the plans there promulgated will prove an interesting indication of racial consciousness, and their final wreck due to the opposition of Bishop Hughes of New York will provide an enlightening picture of rival racial ambitions. Many congregations, especially of Germans and Scandinavians, migrated as a group; but although almost any county history of the Middle West will mention the arrival of some such body, the economic history of one of these enterprises has never been written.

By the operation of these factors of distribution the immigrant became attached more or less permanently to some economic activity in country, village, or city. In each of these he has had an historical development which has left him on quite a different plane and has in turn influenced the American evolution of those activities.

The economic history of foreign farming communities has varied with the local conditions existing upon their arrival and their financial resources.<sup>3</sup> Many immigrants were left, as it were, stranded in the small towns and villages. Here they served as carpenters, masons, blacksmiths, and casual laborers. Some obtained a footing in commercial life and their children have become merchants and bankers. Professional men of foreign parentage have been recruited almost exclusively from this class, so their influence as leaders of the second generation has been far greater than their numerical proportion would warrant. Others of this group, however, have been the ne'er-do-wells that have contributed so much to the flavor of Main Street literature. The part that industry has played in the transitional stages of distribution has been emphasized above. The principles will be clarified when approached from a different angle and when the labor history of a coal mine, a factory, or the construction of a railroad is written. The racial evolution of a purely manufacturing city, such as Lowell, Massachusetts, will provide additional illustrations, with the Irish displacing, or at least taking the place of, the

<sup>3</sup> Suggestive fields for investigation are: the immigrant as an outright purchaser; the rise of the hired man to ownership; the immigrant as renter or mortgaged debtor; occupation of abandoned farms by any race; the different racial customs in providing for the second generation; the immigrant as a market gardener, cotton planter, or tobacco grower, as a fruitman, rancher, or ordinary prairie mixed-farmer; employment of farm hands and older sons in lumbering, ice-cutting, and other seasonal labor; attitude towards improvements and scientific farming.

Yankees; the French Canadians succeeding the Irish; and they in turn followed by the Greeks and Slavs.<sup>4</sup>

When the process of distribution had been completed and some definite economic status achieved, social life appeared. If the immigrant's lot was cast in a purely American environment, he soon lost his characteristics or became a social hermit. More often he was surrounded by hundreds of the same life-history, and in company with them he built up a society, neither European nor American. At present there exist probably a score of types (which ought to be classified). Upon their vitality the future complexion of American life in large measure depends. An understanding of the evolution of these types is a necessary preliminary to any policy of Americanization.

Research should begin with the reaction upon the individual. How did it affect his health? When did he discard his old clothing and when and why did he become ashamed of being "different"? What changes occurred in his principles and morals and why did he become more ambitious? What new interests did he most naturally adopt and which of the old most naturally disappeared? The determination of how immigrant reaction has varied with time, place, and nationality may seem to present insuperable difficulties. But it is not impossible. Biographies, reminiscences, and letters exist by the thousand; acute observations were made by travellers; and the missionary reports teem with comments because the attitude of the individual towards his old religion was usually an index of his whole mental outlook.

The social history of the family will provide a clue to much community development. What variations in internal administration and authority resulted from the migration? The persistence of family traditions, customs, and even names, the training of children in the years before going to school, the family pastimes and mutual obligations are pertinent topics. In time the second generation became a disturbing element. Unnumbered household revolutions occurred, the rebels demanding modernization of furniture, food, and dress, and often a change of religion. When they became successful in securing

<sup>4</sup> Other topics are: immigration in relation to the construction of street railroads, factories, dams, and canals, and the dispersion of the workers when completed; the influences which led certain races into certain occupations; the acquisition of city property; rise in the standard of living; levers by which a group raised itself to a higher plane of industry; efforts to retain control of a particular industry against the inroads of later comers; the circumstances that culminated in the Anti-Contract Labor Law; attitude of the immigrants to the unions, their radicalism, their conservatism, their leadership, their utilization as strike-breakers, and their influence in the formation of the immigrant restriction laws.



control of the family the strongest bulwark of hyphenism was carried. The success or failure of such movements should be related to nationality, location, religion, and community type.

Finally, community activities demand research. Every-day life in Boston and Milwaukee and a score of other foreign "capitals" should be described. The sociology of the hundred-and-sixty-acre farm is as worthy of investigation as that of the ante-bellum plantation. What amusements, festivals, commercial and social habits prevailed? How was an aristocracy of its own created and was it an expression of European or American standards? What was the opinion upon intermarriage with other groups and what was the social effect of such alliances? Did each race manifest a characteristic attitude towards social problems such as temperance and Sunday observance? At what stage and why did native prejudice express itself and did it cause an intensification of peculiarities? What traits persisted after the first generation had passed, and was a constant influx necessary to maintain racial individuality?

As long as any group retained its own language any amalgamation with American social life was impossible. From the first their leaders complained of the eagerness with which immigrants discarded their mother tongue. Its retention became the corner-stone of all efforts to maintain racial solidarity. Historically, therefore, the problem has two aspects: first, the varying circumstances that led to the adoption of English; and secondly, the positive language-policy of the leaders.

The matter being so personal, the materials for the study of the first are very scant. But the second generation, now so widely represented in the colleges, might be subjected to a questionnaire, for it was in the inner life of the bilingual families that the transition took place. For the second point the materials are abundant. Sooner or later in every denomination the language question arose, and the proceedings of church conventions and the columns of their official organs are filled with debates and resolutions. Even more abundant are the materials for a history of the teaching of foreign languages in the public schools. Every state board of education was subjected to tremendous pressure and in many states every ward and school district witnessed similar political propaganda. The language legislation during the war, interesting as a manifestation of war psychology, can be more clearly understood as a reaction from these former concessions.

The language question is but one phase of the much broader subject of the migration of institutions. How these institutions were

set up, how they thrive in the American atmosphere, and how they competed with the native institutions is part of the history of immigration. The process of their transplantation is obscure, though a few years after settlement we can see them in full bloom, churches, parochial schools, academies, fraternal organizations. There are Portuguese bands, Welsh eisteddfods, German turnvereins, Bohemian sokols, Polish "falcons", and Greek "communities".<sup>5</sup> Each nationality at every period demands study of its own. What applies to the Irish differs from what applies to the Hungarians; and the situation among the Germans in 1840 is quite different from that in 1880. It varied with the intensity of the national feeling in the European countries, with the amount of support given by organizations at home, with the internal politics of any race in America, and the amount of opposition which native institutions exhibited.

It was the American churches and their missionary activities that offered the strongest resistance. They met the invaders on their own ground and fought them with their own language. With their seminaries on American soil they had an advantage which the European training schools could not duplicate and their success was the despair of the early missionaries from the churches of Europe. Psychologically the years of migration provided a fertile field for the propagation of new faiths, and the result was the division of the nationalities, especially the old immigrants, among sects and the break-up of migrating denominations into many branches. Much as these divisions were to be deplored from the point of view of effective religious service, they did act as agents of Americanization by breaking the ties with European hierarchies and placing administration in the hands of those who were directed by American organizations.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>5</sup> In connection with their origin many questions arise: Did the immigrants create these institutions because there were none to serve them or because they were content only with their own? Did these institutions arise spontaneously or were they due to the activity of some enterprising individuals? Was assistance in finance or leadership received from any society in the home country, and, if so, what were the motives of this society? There were other parts of the world to which emigrating Europeans brought their institutions. As many Irish settled in England in the years after the famine as entered America; Italians by the hundreds of thousands have colonized the Argentine, and there are flourishing German settlements in Brazil. By comparing the institutional history of the races in these differing environments the problems and significance of their development in the United States may be the more clearly understood.

<sup>6</sup> The problem of the organization of immigrants may be approached most successfully through biography. A few among the hundreds of such pioneers are, the Catholics, Rev. James Fitton and Rev. Henry Lemcke; the Lutherans, Rev. C. F. W. Walther and Rev. L. P. Esbjørn; the Methodist, Rev. Wilhelm Nast; and the two Protestant Episcopal bishops, Philander Chase and Jackson Kemper.

This mingling of social systems raises the natural question, what has immigration as a whole or any group as a race contributed to American culture? Many of the intellectuals among the newcomers thought of themselves as being the bearers of a higher civilization and their descendants have been assiduous in pressing their claims, so that to-day the racial origin of every man who has achieved distinction has been duly acclaimed. We have lists of statesmen, soldiers, poets, novelists, engineers, and educators presenting a formidable array.

It is submitted, however, that this method does not reach the heart of the problem. It is in the township, the village, or the city ward that the leaven in the lump can be detected. There the investigator will find the German singing society which gradually took into its ranks non-Germans, stimulated the formation of other societies, and provided a winter's concert course. There he will find the immigrant music teacher who passed on the training of his old-world masters to hundreds of the offspring of a dozen nations. He will see a reading circle develop into a library indelibly characterized by the particular bent of its originators, thereby determining the literary character of the community. He will see the immigrant schoolmaster expressing his own education and producing among his pupils an unusually large proportion of scientists, philosophers, or farmers. When a few hundred such studies have been made and compared, then we can more confidently say what each race has contributed to the cultural possessions of American society.

In certain centres the mingling of racial contributions may be analyzed. There are the universities, many members of whose faculties have been drawn from the European institutions and whose training can be traced in the organization and scope of the curriculum as well as in the class-room. Hundreds of each nationality have sat in Congress and in the state legislatures. Have they been especially active in producing legislation that will foster the development of arts and sciences? In the cities there have existed theatres promoted by almost every national group. When they disappeared did they leave any trace of their influence upon the American stage? At what times and for what reasons have European classics become popular either in the original or in translation? What scientific, literary, artistic, or musical causes have been championed by the national societies? What literature did the immigrants produce and what characteristic traits of contemporary American literature may be traced to this origin?<sup>7</sup>

<sup>7</sup> The immigrants produced many novelists whose work will never live as fiction. But as reactions to American environment these attempts repay study. Characters and plots are drawn from the community life with which the authors were acquainted.

These questions can be answered only by access to sources that depict the inner life of a group. Such a source is found in the foreign-language press. Fortunately it was most numerous. To peruse the pages gives a vivid cross-section of community activities. Their advertisements show the food, clothing, books; their news columns express their own doings as well as those of their American neighbors. To the foreigner who had church, school, club, and society the newspaper told of the larger American world in which he lived, and assisted materially in the transition from the old to the new.<sup>8</sup>

But it is as political exponents or political instructors that the foreign press will always command the greatest attention; and throughout the nineteenth century, with the increasing percentage of naturalized voters, its relation to each of the succeeding political crises becomes of greater significance. In these matters, however, it is a question whether it merely reflected group opinion or made it. In another and increasingly important field it became the guide—foreign affairs. Not until the World War does the foreign press appear as a great public influence. But that influence was not of sudden growth. Whatever may be said of the course of the American press generally in respect to European news before the war, the foreign-language press was not ignorant and did not slight such topics. Each of the diplomatic crises that mark off the advance to August, 1914, forms the basis of news and editorial comment that reflected the prevailing opinion in the country of origin. Consequently these people in America were almost as prepared for war, psychologically, as any in Europe; and when the conflict did come the whole battery of the press was turned upon the American policy of neutrality, thus creating many of the internal problems of the troubled years from 1914 to 1917. The historian who will attempt to unravel the political skein of that period must first trace the development of the international state of mind of the groups with which he deals.

Mrs. Mary Sadlier and Paul Peppergrass (Rev. John Boyce) write of the Irish, J. R. Psenka of the Czechs, and Abraham Cahan of the Jews. Among the Scandinavian writers are the well-known Knut Hamsun and Johan Bojer. But less prominent authors such as Waldemar Ager should not be overlooked.

<sup>8</sup> In addition to a study of certain important papers which may well be called the mouthpieces of respective groups, it would be enlightening to investigate the careers of some of the leading journalists. Among them are: Oswald Ottendorfer of the *New York Staats-Zeitung*; Hermann Raster of the *Illinois Staats-Zeitung*; William Doenzer of the *Anzeiger des Westens*; John Anderson of *Skandinaven*; Byrnild Anundsen of *Decorah Posten*; Patrick Donahoe and John B. O'Reilly of the *Boston Pilot*; Patrick Ford of the *Irish World*; James A. McMaster of the *New York Freeman's Journal*; Col. Hans Mattson of the *Svenska Amerikaner*; and Solon J. Vlastos of the Greek paper *Atlantis*.

In the formation of this state of mind the press was by 1914 receiving the assistance of powerful allies. The foreign national elements were becoming more conscious of their origin. Immigrants of forty years' residence were becoming reflective. An unusually large number of reminiscences appeared; histories were being written; and alliances, foundations, and leagues were being organized. Though very largely cultural in their ambitions, these national societies could not exclude politics in times of crisis, and in 1914 they played the rôle in national politics that for practically a century local societies had enacted in their own neighborhoods.

It is in these local circles that the student of the influence of racial groups in American politics will make his start. There are perhaps a hundred of such clubs that demand an historian. He will investigate the circumstances attending the organization of each, trace the political allegiance of the moving spirits in the venture, analyze its programmes, ferret out the speakers, and interpret the toasts at the annual banquets. Soon he will find its leaders becoming aldermen and its more prosperous members being favored with city and state contracts. Governors and mayors appear on the programmes. The advantages of naturalization are urged and committees are appointed to welcome the immigrants and train them up in the political way in which they should go. These features, be it emphasized, are not necessarily the most important activities of the society. Charity and good fellowship may be more pronounced as prestige and wealth grow with numbers. But this approach to the problem is the direct path into the maze of local politics where new and bewildered voters are captured for this or that party, and in turn the party is influenced in its attitude towards even national issues.

The immigrant came with many preconceived attitudes which were the basis of his reaction to American life. One of them relates that for ten years before his departure he read every printed word he could find on the United States; he read all the letters which reached the village from those who had already migrated; and when he heard that here or there within the range of a dozen miles someone had returned to visit relatives or friends he called on foot to catechize him more particularly. From such reminiscences, in newspapers and magazines, books and lectures, an attempt should be made to deduce the prevailing attitude towards American problems at various periods, in order to estimate the background of political reactions. Important among such sources will be the addresses and writings of the many successful immigrants who were later returned to their native country to serve as ministers and consuls and who looked upon themselves as interpreters of America to their former compatriots.

The political machines found the foreigners susceptible. The issues that were emphasized, the attentions paid to visiting foreign notables, the injection of religious controversies were all means to an end. The fire, police, and street departments of every city have a racial history. Naturalization clubs flourished in all communities, some of them bona-fide efforts to train immigrants into the status of citizens, others the creatures of the machine. Their activities should be related to the nature of the impending political struggles. As early as the decade of the 'thirties, efforts to secure the German or Irish vote may be recognized locally. The spread of such tactics from city government to state government and thence on into national politics should be traced.

In the rural regions, either the foreigners in one township were so few that they did not count, or so many that they had entire control. A township of the latter type will provide an enlightening laboratory. Here is a community governed by men who have had no training in democracy, and with only the barest outlines of the structure provided by a higher authority. Under such circumstances what type of man came forward? Was political service looked upon as a burden? Now that they were in the land of freedom did they hasten to govern themselves? Did they merely imitate their neighbors or were they more progressive or more conservative? To which did they pay the more attention, schools or roads? Were the German immigrants after 1848 more politically-minded than their predecessors, and did any change occur after 1871? It is questions such as these that the student who has before him the records of a North Dakota or a Wisconsin township can answer.

With these matters disposed of, it will be more possible to generalize as to whether the immigrants have contributed anything to American political ideals. Perhaps they have retarded the progress of democracy by burdening it with a mass of citizens lacking the qualities necessary for self-government. It may be that their European attitude has led to more social legislation and has fostered the movement towards centralization. On occasion they have forgotten that they were in America and have been more interested in fighting the battles of the old country than in participating in those of the new; but in so doing they have inadvertently complicated the existing American issues and created many entirely new.<sup>9</sup> Irish, German, Hungarian, Polish, and Italian patriotic movements operated from

<sup>9</sup> This is especially true of the Irish, who for almost a century championed the cause of their island through a series of movements: the Repeal agitation of the 'forties, the Fenianism of the 'sixties, the Land League of the 'eighties, and the Sinn Fein movement of our own time. Each of these will be found closely connected with the social as well as the political issues of the time.



an American base about the middle of the last century; and research will probably reveal that the emergence of the new nations of Eastern and Central Europe in consequence of the war was possible only because there had existed in America, for a generation or two, active colonies of those nationalities, which had kept alive the ideal of independence and which could offer financial support and political pressure when the time for reconstruction had arrived. All such activities, which to the natives have seemed so alien to American life, have prepared the way for the anti-foreigner movements from the time of the Know-nothings down to the era of No-entanglements and the new immigration act.<sup>10</sup>

Countries of origin were never blind to their loss when they saw their ports thronged with the sturdiest of their peasantry. Efforts to stem the movement were attempted. To the student these efforts will by contrast indicate the strength of the forces that attracted to America, and reveal the local conditions that urged departure. Special attention should be directed to the societies which in the Scandinavian countries agitated against emigration, and the relation of empire settlement to the variations in the flow of the British current. The positive policy of Italy in securing economic advantages from the movement will be found an essential factor in the development of the characteristics of the new immigration.

European governments, moreover, realized that their political as well as their economic life was involved. Experience with a few returned radicals revealed a new threat to their institutions. Consequently all who had been in America were looked upon with suspicion and if necessary their freedom in action and speech was limited. At times newspapers and periodicals, books, and even personal letters were subjected to the censor. But it was evidently all in vain. And here is a rich field for those who would trace the development of nineteenth-century democracy. What influence American political theory had upon the minds of those who were the leaders; how the framework of the American republic was the model for projected European republics; and how the peasant who had neither political theories nor visionary governments in mind vaguely began to feel that things could be better because they were better across the Atlantic—these circumstances require investigation. It is not unlikely that the

<sup>10</sup> Political biography offers a great array of governors and members of Congress. They should be studied more from the point of view of their relations to the group from which they came. Though Carl Schurz has often been written of as an American statesman, his career as a German-American is even more significant. Governor John A. Johnson, Senators Knute Nelson and James Shields, and the Bohemian Charles Jonas, who had a varied career at home and abroad, should be approached from this point of view.

results of such researches will compel a revaluation of factors and the "leaven of the French Revolution", which has so long stood first in the list, will be displaced by the influence of America, gradually becoming known to Europeans as a practical example of democracy, conducted by men among whom were those who had once been their neighbors.

The above topics indicate the type of source-material from which the history of immigration can be drawn. Not until the movement was clearly defined were bureaus for its supervision created by the European governments. Long before their reports appear, however, pertinent official documents are available. There are ponderous investigations of land tenure, feudal services, taxation, marriage laws, poverty, and military affairs, that contribute to an understanding. Petitions to legislatures provoked debates in which members added their testimony and suggested remedies. Consuls residing abroad reported on the fate of fellow-countrymen who had settled in their districts. There were charitable organizations that investigated the feasibility of obtaining relief by systematic emigration and in doing so laid bare the social maladjustments that were stimulating departure and the actual conditions under which emigration was already taking place. Farmers discussed the problems of rural labor at their annual meetings, and local correspondents of agricultural journals, in reporting from month to month on weather conditions and harvest prospects, commented on the changes in population that were effecting a revolution in local society.

In the countries of Northwest Europe, emigration produced a literature of its own. Before commerce undertook the task of watching over the voyager from his native village to his new home, emigrants travelled "by the book". A comparative study of these guides reveals the changes that took place from decade to decade in the routes, difficulties, costs, and even motives of emigration. But books could not keep up with the ever changing conditions of the new world, and emigrants' periodicals began to appear with the first great wave of the movement. Their files present a rich opportunity, with advertisements of land and transportation companies, news items, letters from settlers, notes on labor conditions, and descriptive poetry and fiction.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>11</sup> The following list of German and Swiss emigrant papers is probably not complete, but it indicates their nature: *Der Nordamerikaner* (St. Gall, 1833-1834); *Allgemeine Auswanderungs-Zeitung* (Rudolstadt, 1846-1871); *Der Deutsche Auswanderer* (Darmstadt, 1847-1850); *Germania, Archiv zur Kenntniss des Deutschen Elements in allen Ländern der Erde* (Frankfurt am Main, 1847-1850); *Der Sächsische Auswanderer* (Leipzig, 1848-1851); *Der Auswanderer am Niederrhein* (Meurs, 1848-1849), a series of pamphlets; *Deutsche Auswanderer-Zeitung*

In time, catering to the needs of the emigrants became the principal business for several months of the year at the ports of embarkation. Their newspapers and commercial journals, and the official city and port documents record the almost daily variation in the flow, as well as the general trade conditions influencing transportation. City information bureaus were established, protective societies formed, and religious organizations were not slow in undertaking missionary work. All of these left their documents. The actual transatlantic journey is depicted in the works of travellers, all of whom made excursions through the steerage. The less picturesque aspects of the business may be discovered in the annual reports of shipping companies, the columns of commercial periodicals, and official investigations of the passenger trade.

In America all sources of pioneer history can make a contribution. But there are two which bear directly on the foreign element in the process. The one is the immigrant press discussed above, the other the great mass of literature connected with the religious condition of the immigrants. Bishops and missionaries on their travels could not overlook the material situation of their flocks, and in their reports this interest was reflected. How much lies buried in church archives

(Bremen, 1852-1875); *Hansa, Central Organ für Deutsche Auswanderung* (Hamburg, 1852-1857); *Hamburger Zeitung für Deutsche Auswanderungs- und Kolonisations-Angelegenheiten* (Hamburg, 1852-1858); *Das Westland: Magazin zur Kunde Amerikanischer Verhältnisse* (Bremen, 1851-1852); *Atlantis: Zeitschrift für Leben und Literatur in England und Amerika* (Dessau, 1853-1854); *Neuestes über Auswanderung und von Ausgewanderten* (1850-1853), an annual review edited by August Schultze; *Anschauungen und Erfahrungen in Nordamerika, eine Monatschrift* (Zurich, 1853-1855); *Schilderungen aus Amerika, eine Monatschrift* (Zurich, 1859-1860); *Taschen-Bibliothek der Reise-, Zeit-, und Lebensbilder* (Rudolstadt, 1854-1857), including an annual emigrants' calendar; *Der Tollense-Bote, Blätter zur Unterhaltung und Belchrung, Auswanderungs-Zeitung und Anzeiger für Mecklenburg* (Neubrandenburg, 1855-1856); *Der Emigrant* (Bremen, 1868); *Der Auswanderer* (Zurich, 1872-1873); *Der Pfadfinder* (Gotha, 1872-1873); *Weltpost: Blätter für Deutsche Auswanderung, Kolonisation, und Weltverkehr* (Leipzig, 1881-1885); *Neue Auswanderungs-Zeitung* (Leipzig, 1880-1881), continued as *Deutsch-Amerikanische Zeitung* (1882); *Amerikanische Nachrichten* (Berlin, 1883-1884), continued as *Deutsche Weltpost* (1885-1886). In addition to these, volume III. of *Der Kolonist* (Bern) appeared in 1854, and volume VIII. of the *Schweizerische Auswanderungszeitung* (Bern), in 1873; but I have not yet been able to locate complete files of these two papers.

For British emigrants the following papers, all published in London, appeared: *The Emigration Gazette* (1841-1843); *The Emigrant and Colonial Gazette* (1848-1849); *Sidney's Emigrant's Journal* (1848-1849); *The Universal Emigration and Colonial Messenger* (1850-1851); *The Emigration Record and Colonial Journal* (1856-1858); *Land and Emigration* (1871-1873); *The American Settler* (1872-1874 and 1880-1892). *The Anglo-American Times* (1865-1896), though not primarily an emigrant journal, contains a great deal of information about land, the process of settlement, and the industrial situation.

can only be imagined. The great amount that found its way into print has hardly been touched.<sup>12</sup> In Europe societies were formed to promote the spiritual welfare of the diaspora, and their publications are even more informative.<sup>13</sup>

Very often the history of a parish is the history of an immigrant community and the local press should be searched for commemorative addresses on anniversary occasions and for biographical sketches of the clergy.

But such materials can be found in very few libraries to which students have ready access. A long and semi-blind search for their location is necessary before the investigator can attack his problems. Especially one who studies a common phase of all emigrations is confronted by an almost hopeless task. Accordingly it is suggested that as the first step in opening up the field a survey be made to locate the raw materials. Such a survey would extend beyond the libraries of universities and the great public libraries. It would explore the riches of the theological institutions and the archives of church headquarters. It would reveal unexpected treasures on the shelves of local historical societies and in the libraries of immigrant communities. It would discover under what conditions the files of an immigrant newspaper may be consulted or, if defunct, into whose hands they have passed. Such a comprehensive investigation would do more than shorten the labors of the student. It would be the best guaranty that the history of American immigration be written on the broad and impartial lines that its place in national development deserves.

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<sup>12</sup> How extensive this literature is may be realized by referring to the article "Periodical Literature" in *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. XI., pp. 692-696; and to the list of Lutheran papers in John G. Morris's *Bibliotheca Lutherana* (Philadelphia, 1876), pp. 131-139.

<sup>13</sup> The most important of these publications are: *Annales de l'Association de la Propagation de la Foi* (Lyons, 1827-); *Berichte der Leopoldinen-Stiftung im Kaiserthum Oesterreich* (Vienna, 1832-); *Das Missionsblatt* (Barmen, 1826-); *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums* (Leipzig, 1837-); *Kirchliche Mittheilungen aus und über Nordamerika* (Berlin, 1843-); *Missionsblatt der Brüdergemeinde* (Hamburg, 1837-); and *Fliegende Blätter aus dem Rauhen Hause zu Horn* (Hamburg, 1844-).

## THE PAPERS OF THE AMERICAN FUR COMPANY: A BRIEF ESTIMATE OF THEIR SIGNIFICANCE

It is very fortunate for those who would study the decade 1835-1845 in the history of the United States that practically all the correspondence and books of the largest American business firm of the period have been preserved and are accessible.<sup>1</sup> In the economic and political life of the United States during these years the American Fur Company was a factor that has not been accorded its due prominence. Its agents were stationed from Canton to Leipzig and included some of the foremost business men of the day; its chief interest was furs, skins, and buffalo robes, which it secured from Indians and whites by means of factors throughout the length and breadth of the present territory of the United States; its secondary interests were the manufactures that it purchased in Europe and America to barter for these peltries; and its minor activities included the fisheries of Lake Superior, the maple-sugar industry, the lead trade, the sale of flour, and steamboating on the Western waters and along the American seaboard. For practically every phase of American life during the decade these papers hold items of interest: commerce, banking, domestic markets, politics, domestic manufactures, transportation, religious conditions, education, settlement of the West, land speculation, Indian policy, travel and travelers, the panic of 1837, foreign relations, and very many others. The close connection existing between this company and some of the outstanding business men of Europe also makes these papers unplumbed sources of information on the economic and social con-

<sup>1</sup> The American Fur Company's papers are now in the possession of the New York Historical Society, 170 Central Park West, New York City. Regarding their history Mr. Alexander J. Wall, the librarian of the society, wrote on Oct. 21, 1924, to the Minnesota Historical Society: "The history of these Papers is very brief. Mr. John D. Clute, of New York City, a member of this Society 1854-1879, who died November 9, 1879, in his eighty-sixth year, was for many years a Trustee of the American Fur Company. On February 16, 1863, the Society purchased from him the collection of American Fur Company Papers, consisting of eight chests. The amount paid was eighty dollars. These Papers remained in these chests in the Society's old building on Second Avenue and Eleventh Street for many years without a single inquiry ever being made for their use. When we moved into this building they still remained unpacked until we built the steel and glass cases on the Library floor which now house our manuscript collection. They were then placed in these cases and your Institution is making the second examination which these Papers have ever had."

ditions of Europe. In other words, one could hardly get from any single group of papers a more accurate cross-section of American life for the decade 1835-1845 than these papers afford.

The period covered by the papers may be said to be the years from 1834 to 1847, though certain records antedate and some follow that period. They may be classified roughly as follows: original letters received from factors, foreign and domestic agents, rivals, politicians, and many others; copies of letters sent by the company; records of orders for goods to be shipped to factors in the fur country and lists of furs received from the Indians in exchange for these goods; and records of sundry other transactions consequent on the bartering of goods for furs. The letters sent and received alone number over sixteen thousand. Their chief topic is, of course, the fur trade, but quite apart from the information they afford on this topic, they are records of the business, social, and political life of hundreds of localities as widely separated as Smyrna and Sault Ste. Marie. The books of the company give the figures and mathematical calculations mentioned in the letters. They afford the details, telling exactly how many furs were shipped, of what varieties, by whom, at what cost, and how and to whom sold. Certain files of volumes relate wholly to the receipt of furs; others to shipment and sales of furs; one series is entitled "Orders Inward" and gives the lists of goods ordered from European and American firms; another is called "Orders Outward" and lists the furs, with their values, which were shipped to England and other markets. It is from these volumes that the historian of the fur trade in the United States will get the greater part of his statistical data. Bills of lading, accounts current, old drafts, inventories of stock, lists of employees, contracts, deeds, and other loose papers have also been preserved in embarrassing richness.

The need for such a collection of documents, showing in their entirety all the methods of getting and marketing furs and skins, has been felt for many years. The only other group that has been preserved in anything like its original form, the papers of the Hudson's Bay Company, is not open to students, and, even if they were accessible, they could hardly be called typical of the papers of American fur companies. As far as is known, the papers of the North-West Company, the other big fur company in North America, were either joined with those of the Hudson's Bay Company when the merger of the two concerns was effected in 1821, or have been lost. Only a few items are available.



The American Fur Company was organized by John Jacob Astor in 1808 and was closely affiliated with one of the Montreal fur companies. Despite the Treaty of Paris, British traders still controlled a large part of the fur-yielding area of northwestern United States at the close of the War of 1812. In 1816 Astor secured control of the fur trade in the United States by engineering the passage by Congress of an act restricting to Americans the issuance of fur-traders' licenses. From that time until 1834 his was the great fur company in the United States.

For the period prior to 1834 only scattering business papers of this firm have been preserved, since the great New York fire of 1835 destroyed a large body of them.<sup>2</sup> In the old hotel at Mackinac may still be seen three of the letter-books kept by Ramsay Crooks and Robert Stuart, factors of the company at Mackinac, from 1816 to 1828; in the Canadian Archives at Ottawa are six ledgers of the Northern Department of the company for the years 1817-1835; in the Burton Historical Collection of the Detroit Public Library is a body of papers of the company, apparently those of its agent at Mackinac, covering the years 1816 to 1834; in the Chicago Historical Society collection are the papers of John Lawe, agent at Green Bay; in the Missouri Historical Society collection are the papers of a number of agents and associates of Astor's company, especially the Prattes, Chouteaus, Menards, McKenzies, and so forth; in the collections of the historical societies of Wisconsin and Minnesota are the papers of Alexis Bailly, the agent at the mouth of the St. Peter's, now the Minnesota, River; and in these collections and those of other Western historical agencies may be found the personal papers of several agents of the company, which usually include more or less of business data.

Therefore, since only these oddly assorted and widely separated records of the American Fur Company in its first phase have been preserved, the main source of documentary data on the fur trade of the United States is seen to be the papers of the American Fur Company for the years 1834-1847, which fortunately have been preserved almost in their entirety. Moreover, as fur-trade methods varied but little from 1760 to 1840, one can get from papers as late as these a very correct view of methods in vogue at a much earlier period.

John Jacob Astor and his son withdrew from the American Fur Company in 1834. It was reorganized immediately under its old name as a corporation under the laws of New York, after a

<sup>2</sup> This information was obtained from members of the Astor family.

proposal for incorporation in Michigan had been considered and rejected because of the fear that a tax would be levied there on its capital stock. Ramsay Crooks, a survivor of the Astorians and long Astor's right-hand man in the fur trade, was elected president. Eight stockholders are mentioned in the first dividend statement. Offices and warehouses were maintained in the Vesey and Pearl streets neighborhood, the centre of commercial New York; and outfit and department headquarters were located at Prairie du Chien (Western Outfit), Mackinac (Northern Department), Lapointe (Northern Outfit), Sault Ste. Marie (St. Mary's Outfit), and Detroit (Detroit Department). Other stations and substations dotted the wilderness from Detroit to Devil's Lake, the most notable being those at Grand River, Fond du Lac (modern Duluth), Chicago, Sandy Lake, Green Bay, Milwaukee, and the mouth of the Minnesota River. All business was carried on by means of the outfits and departments. Goods were bought in Europe and America for each unit and debited to it on the company's books. Opposite these entries were placed the credit items of the number of packs of furs and robes shipped by the unit to the New York office. The trade for the region west of the Mississippi was mainly in the hands of Pratte, Chouteau, and Company (after 1838 Pierre Chouteau, jr., and Company) of St. Louis. As Bernard Pratte was Crooks's father-in-law, a family tie united the two companies. The American Fur Company marketed the furs and robes of the St. Louis firm and purchased its articles for the Indian trade. Since the factors of Pratte, Chouteau, and Company were found scattered from the Canadian border to Texas and beyond the Rocky Mountains, and since the American Fur Company controlled the area east of the Mississippi, the scope of the American Fur Company may be said to have covered the entire fur-producing area of the United States.

That the fur trade was a profitable business the papers of the company leave no room to doubt. As late as 1840 William Brewster, a stockholder and agent of the company at Detroit, collected three hundred thousand dollars' worth of furs and skins in his warehouses in one season. Apparently, too, they were drawn only from southern Michigan, Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois. From the letter that tells of this collection one can get an idea of the profit of the business.<sup>3</sup> Of the three hundred thousand dollars to be derived from the sale of these furs, Brewster wrote that he expected to clear seventy-five thousand. In the same year the company planned to declare a dividend of twenty-five per cent., and presumably it did so.

<sup>3</sup> Brewster to Crooks, May 6, 1840.

In 1836 its dividend was ten per cent. and in 1837 it was fifteen per cent. Thus the American Fur Company was doing a thriving business in the late 'thirties.

From another angle, that of the degree of competition that the company encountered, one arrives at the same conclusion regarding the prosperity of the fur trade. During the period from 1838 to 1842 the whole Ohio valley was a scene of cutthroat competition. The latter epithet is ordinarily reserved for describing business methods that characterized the opening of the era of "big business". It is used advisedly, however, in referring to the tactics of the American Fur Company and its rivals, for one of the conclusions to be derived from reading the correspondence and studying the books of the company is that here was an instance of big business half a century before its time.

During the period above mentioned the company's chief rivals were W. G. and G. W. Ewing, a fur house of Fort Wayne; a German concern represented by a man named Hotte; and a certain Oppenheim, apparently the representative of another German house. The agents of the first concern all but came to blows with Crooks's representatives at Dayton, Perrysburg, Vincennes, Peru, Evansville, Fort Wayne, Logansport, South Bend, and other places in the Ohio valley. The grim determination of each side to win the struggle may be sensed from George Hunt's letter of May 27, 1839, in which he wrote that the Ewings had eleven buyers out against him in the vicinity of Madison, Indiana. Brewster's zest for the "war of extermination", as Crooks characterized this struggle with the Ewings, was contagious—so much so that Crooks had to put a damper on the ardor of his representatives, admonishing Brewster that no questionable policy should be pursued by the company's agents. Nevertheless, Brewster in one of his letters could not refrain from gloating over his success in securing a collection of furs for which Hotte had made a contract.<sup>4</sup> He also wrote that he represented to certain fur collectors in Ohio that the company would ruin them if they did not make a permanent arrangement with it. "Buy everything you can lay your hands on without fear, except beaver and muskrats", was Crooks's own advice in the spring of 1838; and in August he wrote to his London correspondent and agent, Curtis M. Lampson, that he did not expect a certain shipment of deerskins to bring more than cost, as they were purchased merely to prevent Hotte from getting them. The explanation for this reckless purchasing of furs and skins was the realization by Crooks that the

<sup>4</sup> May 19, 1838.

American Fur Company must control the fur market of the United States if Lampson was to control the Continental sale for it. In other words, the company aimed to become a monopoly.

Relations of traders and Indians to the company's chief rival in the sale of furs, the Hudson's Bay Company, are disclosed again and again in its correspondence. Most cordial interchanges of courtesies were made, especially between Crooks and Sir George Simpson, the governor of the English company, and between the factors of the two companies at the Sault. Part of this good-will was due to an agreement between the two companies that the English firm should control the fur trade in a region north of Lake Superior corresponding roughly with the modern Cook County, Minnesota, in return for the annual payment of three hundred pounds sterling. Thus competition was avoided. On the other hand the American Fur Company's agent in London, Curtis M. Lampson, was a bitter rival of the Hudson's Bay Company in the actual fur market and made regular reports to Crooks of the furs received by that concern from Canada and, especially, from the region about the Columbia River. Nor was Lampson slow to announce his joy when the Columbia River ship failed to arrive in London. Those who are interested in determining the cause for the English government's ready relinquishment of the Oregon country in 1846 would do well to study the figures of fur returns from that region from 1834 to 1846 as given in the American Fur Company's papers. Other aspects of relations between the two companies are touched upon in the correspondence between Lampson and Crooks. Thus in 1838, when the Canadian rebellion was at its height, Crooks wrote in reply to a letter from Lampson inquiring about the effect of a possible separation of Canada from Great Britain: "The troubles in Canada may *in time* produce a separation from the mother country, and in that case no doubt the new Governments first step would be to destroy the influence of the Bay Company, and their expulsion would follow as a matter of course, and the trade be thrown open to private competition among the Citizens of the new Power."<sup>5</sup>

In the story of the fur trade as told in these papers there is no more interesting portion than the influence of fashions on the wayward whims and vagaries of commerce both domestic and foreign. Reading the letters of Crooks and his correspondents day by day, one is impressed with the vast amount of difference which the change from beaver to silk hats, for example, made to thousands of persons. Apparently about 1830 Dame Fashion decreed that silk should be

<sup>5</sup> Mar. 8, 1838.

the *non plus ultra* in materials for hats. This was a blow to dealers in beaver and muskrat furs, which hitherto had been the most necessary articles in the latter's business. About the same period nutria, especially that from South America, became more fashionable than muskrat fur. Thus two of the American Fur Company's chief articles of trade, the muskrat skins from the upper waters of the Mississippi and the beaver from the Rocky Mountains and New Mexico, became of very much less value than formerly. A letter from Crooks in August, 1836, definitely stated that the home consumption of beaver was greatly diminished in consequence of the almost universal use of silk hats.

An unsuspected blow to the company's beaver-sales came in 1842 when the old beaver headdress worn in the British army was replaced by a new kind of cap. In 1838 the product of another region, the deerskins from Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, of which great numbers were shipped yearly to Lampson for sale at the Leipzig fairs, was threatened by the substitution of Cape goatskins by German dressers. In the late 'thirties bear fur became a very popular trimming and prices rose accordingly. Raccoons were also in great demand in the late 'thirties and early 'forties. The source of the supply for this demand is shown in a letter of May 19, 1838, in which Brewster reported that by June 10 he would have shipped twenty thousand raccoon skins from Detroit. These skins were obtained mainly in Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois.

Crooks's firm depended largely for its profits upon the prices which furs brought in the Leipzig fairs. The great fur markets of the world were the annual Easter and Michaelmas fairs at Leipzig, at which were sold, among others, the peltries of the American and Canadian forests that had reached the Continent by way of the English fur dealers. Every fur buyer in America watched for the results of these sales as eagerly as business men to-day read of the activities of the New York stock exchange. The correspondence of foreign representatives of the American Fur Company from 1834 to 1847 affords a history of prices and conditions in each Leipzig fair during that period.

The fact that the chief markets for American furs and skins were in foreign lands should be stressed. If there is one conviction, deeper than any other, to be gained from reading the papers of the American Fur Company, it is that the history of the fur trade should be studied against the background of world conditions. The period of these papers witnessed a great upheaval in fur-marketing conditions; and the letters of Crooks and his foreign correspondents are

among the best reports of the changes that were occurring. American furs had always found their way to the Leipzig fairs through the English auctions, chiefly those of C. M. Lampson. Soon after 1835, apparently, German firms began to make attempts to purchase and ship American furs direct to Leipzig. The bitter fight with which Lampson and Crooks countered these attacks on their monopoly schemes has already been mentioned. One of the best brief histories of the fur trade seen in its general world outlines, *Der Rauchwaaren-Handel*, by Heinrich Lomer, makes special mention of the beginning of the direct trade between Germany and the United States:

Die Pelz-Compagnien oder die grösseren Handlungshäuser senden die amerikanische Waare entweder nach London, nach Leipzig oder auch nach New-York, von welchem letzteren Platze sie, in andere Hände übergegangen, auch entweder an Commissionshäuser und Makler nach London, oder nach Leipzig an Rauchwaarenhandlungen versandt wird. Von den Londoner Maklern werden die Waaren mehr oder weniger gut sortirt und in zwei oder dreimal jährlich wiederkehrenden grossen Auctionen, gewöhnlich im Anschlusse an die Auction der Hudsons-Bay-Compagnie, verkauft. Eines der grossen Londoner Commissionshäuser, welches seit 32 Jahren den grössten Theil der Waaren empfangen hat, ist das von C. M. Lampson, eines viel Organisationsgeist besitzenden und energischen Mannes.

Derselbe pflegt das Quantum in mehrere Auctionen einzutheilen, und oftmals selbst, wenn er eine Ueberfüllung des Marktes fürchtet, Waaren jahrelang aufzusparen. Wird nun durch das lange Lagern die Waare einestheils unscheinbar, und müssen andererseits die Eigenthümer lange Zeit auf vollständige Abrechnung warten, und ist es unmöglich, dass ein Londoner Haus, welches für Export-Waaren kaum 30 Käufer hat, den Markt so beurtheilen kann, wie ein Leipziger Haus, welches deren fünfhundert besitzt, so ist es auch hauptsächlich vielen Amerikanern klar geworden, dass durch die Kosten des Londoner Zwischenhandels, welche mehr denn 10 Procent betragen, die Waare um ebensoviel theurer wird. Dieses und die Sorgfalt der Leipziger Handlungshäuser haben, zum grossen Theil erst in den letzten Jahren, dem Waarenzug eine directe Richtung gegeben. In Leipzig wird die Waare nach Platzsätzen verkauft.<sup>6</sup>

Lomer's description of the fairs is also worth quoting in part:

Zum Einkaufe sowohl, wie zum Verkaufe versammeln sich auf unserer Messe die vornehmsten Kaufleute, Rauchwaarenhändler und Kürschner aus allen Ländern: Nordamerikaner, Engländer, Franzosen, Italiener, Schweizer, Holländer, Schweden, Dänen, Tartaren, Russen, Griechen, Polen, Wallachen, Ungarn und endlich Deutsche aus allen namhaften Städten. Wenn wir die Zahl von 2500 fremden Rauchwaarenhändlern annehmen, so glauben wir nicht zu hoch zu greifen.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>6</sup> *Der Rauchwaaren-Handel* (Leipzig, 1864), pp. 24-26.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 44.



He then lists the furs bought by representatives of the different nations there gathered, paying particular attention to the Greek buyers with their imposing clothes and red fezzes, who, incidentally, cut quite a figure also in Lampson's reports to Crooks on the Leipzig fairs. Lomer then continues:

Die russischen und sibirischen Waaren, die in England und Amerika gebraucht werden, gehen zum grössten Theile durch die Hände der Leipziger Kaufleute. Die Waaren der Verein. Staaten Nord-Amerikas und Canadas, die früher nur vermittelt der Londoner Auctionen hierhergekommen sind, kommen seit den letzten Jahren direct zu unserm Markt, aus welchem Allen hervorleuchtet, dass der Rauchwaarenhandel Leipzigs an Bedeutung zugenommen hat.<sup>8</sup>

Curtis Miranda Lampson, of whom mention has been made, was an Englishman by adoption but a Vermonter by birth. Like Joshua Bates and several other Americans he became the European agent for leading American commercial firms. His correspondence with Crooks is voluminous, for he made a practice of writing by every packet to New York. In it is mirrored the commercial life of England and her merchants—which means of course the commercial life of the world, for Englishmen were still the bankers and merchants of the industrial world.

The relations between Lampson and the American Fur Company are not wholly clear. As far as the papers of that company throw any light on the subject, Crooks seems to have believed that Lampson attended to the interests of only one American firm, his own. On the other hand, the papers of the Ewing brothers indicate that Lampson, during the same period, was marketing their furs.<sup>9</sup> At all events, whether or not the American Fur Company was aware of Lampson's dual interest, Lampson urged upon Crooks the monopoly of the American fur market—and Crooks responded in the manner already described. Lampson's own objective was to prevent a direct trade from developing between America and Leipzig; or, to state it positively, to control the sales of furs from America.

Closely connected with the letters which disclose the methods, prices, and profits of the fur trade are those revealing the company's relations with the Indians. These were so close that no one should attempt to describe any phase of Indian policy in these years among the tribes about the Great Lakes and upper reaches of the Mississippi without consulting the papers of the company. By their aid one is led behind the scenes to behold characters who never appeared on

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.* p. 45.

<sup>9</sup> The papers of W. G. and G. W. Ewing are in the possession of the Indiana State Library, Indianapolis. A calendar of them is being made.

the open stage, but who nevertheless helped to produce the nation's Indian policy. Ramsay Crooks was of course one of them; Charles Gratiot was another; Henry R. Schoolcraft and George Henry Jones were also anxious to please the American Fur Company. When the matter of Indian treaties, of payments, or of contracts for government goods was to the fore, correspondence between these men was almost certain to contain more details than were given to the public. An especially interesting situation developed in the Senate in 1842-1843, when Robert Stuart attempted to secure the confirmation of an Indian treaty very favorable to the American Fur Company. On January 5, 1843, Senator William Woodbridge wrote to Crooks that the treaty concluded by Stuart was in danger; that Chouteau's presence might be of decided benefit; that Senator Benton appeared violently opposed to the treaty; that the treaty was doomed if opposition should assume a party character; that the objections offered to the treaty were: (1) the country was not yet wanted, (2) the terms were too favorable to the interests of the American Fur Company, (3) the clause providing for the continuance of the United States laws (*i.e.*, prohibiting the introduction of ardent spirits, etc.) was contrary to states' rights, (4) if the secret working of the human heart could be looked into, one of the objections would be seen to rest upon the fact that this treaty was made by Robert Stuart, who was a friend of James Doty, and James Doty was the object of most vindictive hostility, (5) Stuart was once connected with the American Fur Company and was now friendly to it. Woodbridge remarked at the close that although he had not violated any rule of the Senate in writing this letter, considerations of propriety led him to request that it be burned. His next letter, of January 19, was more hopeful regarding the treaty: he had taken advantage of the intimate relations between Colonel Benton and Governor Cass to obtain intercession for the treaty and Cass had stated that there would be no further objections from Benton.

On May 21, 1835, Crooks wrote to John Lawe at Green Bay that the annuities were to be paid early in September and advised that Lawe should be prepared to secure a large share of the money, since it was more "certain" than the fur trade. Another evidence that the company did not depend for its entire profits upon the exchange of furs for goods was its eagerness to have one of its agents appointed sutler at Fort Snelling on the upper Mississippi. A letter of June 6, 1835, from Colonel Samuel C. Stambaugh to Crooks explains one source of this sutler's income: four companies were to be stationed at the fort and to each soldier the sutler was permitted

to sell daily two gills of wine and as much ale and porter as desired. Fort Snelling, he added, was considered the best army post for a sutler.

The manner in which Indian treaties benefited the company appears in Crooks's letter to Samuel Abbott, agent at Mackinac, June 23, 1838. The treaties have been ratified, he writes, and this action will supply funds for the company's western and northern outfits. On September 30, 1839, Crooks wrote from the West that the government had paid the Chippewa Indians and half-breeds, and that of the \$103,500 thus paid he now had \$59,000 with him. Of course the method of getting such sums from the government was to present claims against the Indians for goods never paid for by them in furs and skins as promised when credits were granted them.

Not all the American Fur Company's influence, however, was baneful to the Indians. Its letters show that above all else the company desired peace among the different tribes; and doubtless the frontier settlers had often to thank the company for the fact that they were left unmolested by the Indians. Moreover the company was in favor of prohibiting the sale of liquor to the Indians and of maintaining missions and schools among them. An amusing "subsidiary industry" maintained by the company was its sale of French wines in New York to support Father Frederick Baraga's little Catholic mission at Lapointe on the southern shore of Lake Superior. De Massiac and De Loisson, wine merchants of Pierry near Épernay, France, impressed by Baraga's devotion and high purpose to convert the Ojibways, apparently offered to give to the mission the proceeds from the sales of such wines as Crooks should receive for the purpose from them and should sell in New York. The correspondence relating to the shipment and arrival of wines, the sales, and the amount of proceeds, is quite extensive. Crooks apparently attended to the sales gratuitously. Such a service was quite in keeping with his character. He and his wife found time in their busy lives to attend to the education of numerous little half-breeds from the fur country, to search New York stores for music for traders in the wilds of Michigan and the region west of Lake Superior, to pick out and send worsteds for the embroidery of the traders' daughters, and to buy long lists of books for missionaries and traders. Hence it would not be strange if Crooks donated his services in raising money for the little Catholic chapel on Madeline Island, curious as this method of financing the salvation of souls may appear to the modern mind. To Baraga's credit it must be added that his temperance scruples displayed themselves several

times in protest against this manner of obtaining funds, but apparently without effect.

A topic closely related to that of Indian relations, regarding which Crooks carried on an extensive correspondence, was that of the making and marketing of woolen blankets. Probably few persons realize the significance of the blanket in the history of Indian relations. It was of the first importance because of the universal need of it among all tribes of Indians. Consequently great numbers were sent yearly beyond the frontier in the United States and to every nook and corner of western Canada. The keenest sort of competition existed among French, Belgian, and British merchants for this lucrative portion of the American Fur Company's trade, now one and now another getting the upper hand. Finally, in the 'thirties, the infant mills at Lowell and at Buffalo appeared in the struggle and the British merchants saw in them successful rivals. For the purpose of learning the secret of their competitors' success in selling blankets to the American Fur Company, both the British and the American blanket-makers secured samples of their rivals' wares—sometimes openly, sometimes surreptitiously—and the whole correspondence on this phase of the company's trade shows how fearful were the British merchants of losing such an immense part of their business.

Land speculation and the settlement of the frontier are topics in many letters. Solomon Juneau at Milwaukee reports in an especially enlightening way on the latter subject. The region about his trading post was receiving its first deluge of settlers in the latter half of the 'thirties, and Juneau's correspondence affords an excellent opportunity for watching the growing disparity between the interests of trader and farmer. Even some references to the pineries and the lumbering industry in Maine, Michigan, and Wisconsin are to be noted. In general it may be said that in these papers one can study in unusual detail the frontier as it existed east of the Mississippi between 1835 and 1850.

For a phase of economic history which needs further intensive study, the development of a home market for the produce of the Ohio Valley, these papers of the American Fur Company are worthy of attention. Practically all the butter, pork, cheese, flour, and corn that supplied hundreds of the company's factors about the Great Lakes and as far west as the upper branches of the Missouri were secured in Ohio, western New York, and Pennsylvania. Cleveland and Buffalo were the chief shipping points. William Brewster of Detroit had charge of the purchasing of these products each year,

and his letters to Crooks frequently quote prices and give the agricultural prospects of the farmers in these regions. Thus in 1840 and 1841, when the company was endeavoring to sell lake fish, Brewster's letters and those of his assistants describe the poverty of "our Hoosiers", who had no market for their bacon and pork and who consequently had very little ready money with which to vary their diet by means of fish. A little earlier Crooks had written thus:

So long as Pork and Beef commanded such high prices as they have for years past, the state of Ohio alone consumed nearly all the Fish that the whole of the upper Lakes produced; but the reduction in the value of flesh enables people to obtain it now at about the same rate as fish—and to be, and being prepared where it costs no more, less fish will be required for the country of the Lakes and the Ohio, and like all other articles that are more than equal to the demand, our Fish must fall in price unless we can rid ourselves of the surplus. It is therefore of vast importance to the success of the business under your management that we find so large a new opening as will take off all that Ohio cannot, or will not consume.<sup>10</sup>

References in the company's papers to the subsidiary industries in which it was interested are many. Thus the fisheries of Lake Superior, flour speculations, the maple-sugar trade, the copper trade of Lake Superior, the cranberry trade of the upper Mississippi, the lead trade of the Mississippi, and sales of sand for glass-making all receive attention. Many of these industries were relatively minor interests of the company, but the fisheries seemed at one time to be on the point of becoming a large and profitable business.<sup>11</sup> The correspondence with the Chouteau firms contains most of the data regarding the lead trade, and that with a Boston firm, the New England Glass Company, tells of the sales of sand for glass-making. With the rush of miners to the copper mines of Lake Superior in 1845, the references to the various companies, prices of ore, methods of shipment, and other phases of the copper industry become numerous.

Comments on current events and politics are scattered throughout the letters. On January 2, 1836, Crooks wrote that if President Jackson was determined on securing Indian lands in Michigan for the United States, "Means will be found to induce the Indians to sell". On the thirtieth of the same month Henry R. Schoolcraft

<sup>10</sup> Crooks to Borup, Dec. 31, 1839.

<sup>11</sup> As the author has considered in some detail in another article the history of the Lake Superior fisheries, no further account of them will be given here. See Nute, "The American Fur Company's Fishing Enterprises on Lake Superior", in the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XII. 483-503.

reported to Crooks on the excitement occasioned by the chartering of the United States Bank by the legislature of Pennsylvania. Most of the correspondence with Lampson gives comments on the political or economic news of the country. Thus on April 5, 1838, Crooks wrote that the Whigs had won the election in Connecticut and that a Whig victory might "open Van Buren's eyes"; otherwise his "destructive course" would end in prostration for everybody. References to Locofocos are numerous, especially to the New York species, but even from far away Sault Ste. Marie came John Livingston's complaint of May 5, 1841, that the present postmaster was a Locofoco and generally disliked and that at the election held on November 1, 1840, he used "all and every illegal way" to secure his election—and succeeded therein.

Political wirepulling by the company was not unknown; on April 13, 1839, Crooks in a letter to Hercules L. Dousman described how efforts were being made to enlist the support of the Pennsylvania legislature in securing favorable action by Congress on Paquette's Indian claim. It is expedient, Crooks writes, to propitiate Pennsylvania, upon which Van Buren mainly relies for re-election. That the company secured any political advantages from Webster's indebtedness to it is unlikely, but correspondence with and about him shows the awkward reluctance with which it pressed its claims on him. From William A. Bradley's letter of March 19, 1839, it is plain that Webster, some years before, had given a note for \$10,000 to the company—which, a member of Pratte, Chouteau, and Company remarked, might be recovered "with time and very much patience". In 1840, however, the stock of patience seems to have run low, for plans were afoot for forcing a settlement. What the outcome was does not appear in the papers of the American Fur Company nor in the published letters of Webster; but, knowing that statesman's reputation for impecuniousness, one is inclined to doubt that the issue was satisfactory to the holder of the note.

From politics one turns to the educational facilities of the country and finds valuable information concerning secondary schools. The paternalism so characteristic of this great monopoly cared for little Virginia Rolette's education at a convent school in Georgetown in the District of Columbia and for her brother's at Fredericksburg; for Jane Holiday's at Miss Grant's school at Ipswich, Massachusetts; for John S. Garland's at College Point, New York; and for William Whipple Warren's and his brother's at Oneida Institute in the state of New York. These names represent only a few of the half-breed families of the frontier whose children were educated



largely because Ramsay Crooks took the responsibility for paying tuition as it came due, for arranging for personal escorts for the children to and from the schools, and even for solacing more than one homesick boy or girl. Private schools throughout the country, realizing the company's influence in securing patronage for them, often sent printed circulars describing the courses, expenses, and general conditions of their respective institutions. An example is a circular from St. Mary's Seminary, Perry County, Missouri, inclosed in a letter of March 18, 1838, which affords much information about the school.

A very large proportion of the letters received by the company affords data on transportation facilities. Nearly every domestic letter indicated the route by which the letter itself, or furs, or Indian goods would be forwarded. Hence anyone interested in the general details of transportation for these years can find in these letters an immense quantity of facts. Special phases of transportation, however, receive more than this kind of incidental mention. Thus the relative cost and preferability of the several routes over which goods might be sent from New York and other eastern points to St. Louis receive a good deal of attention. Much of the correspondence relating to this subject was carried on with Francis Ronaud of Pittsburgh, who served as forwarding agent for the powder ordered from Du Pont de Nemours and Company of Brandywine, and the firearms and other merchandise secured in Lancaster, Philadelphia, and other places in Pennsylvania. Correspondence with him gives the rates charged by wagoners on freight to Pittsburgh; the corresponding rates on the Pennsylvania canal during the months when it was open; the time required to ship goods from Pittsburgh both east and west; and the method, cost, and time required for shipping by keel boat from Pittsburgh to St. Louis.

Correspondence with Merle and Company of New Orleans, who served as the American Fur Company's agents at that point, and with Pratte, Chouteau, and Company of St. Louis gives data respecting transportation on the Mississippi River as compared with that of the Ohio River route. The latter stream was preferred for the shipment of furs from St. Louis—except sometimes in the winter months—because of the deterioration in quality which the hot weather of the South was likely to cause in the furs; and because thereby the New Orleans quarantine, annoying in its delays, was avoided. Likewise, letters to and from William Brewster, the agent at Detroit, and Gabriel Franchere, the agent for selling fish

along the Ohio and Mississippi rivers, give some facts about rates and schedules on the Ohio canal.

As for transportation on the Great Lakes—in nearly every letter to and from agents in that region one can find references to sailing vessels or steamers. One of the most interesting phases of this subject is the construction of vessels for the Lake Superior trade. The company was the first to maintain a transportation line on that lake, though there had been earlier instances of vessels in its waters, notably those of the North-West Company, of the Hudson's Bay Company, and of the British Admiralty. Before 1842 the American Fur Company had at least two schooners and two smaller vessels on the lake and also maintained a brig on the lower lakes. At first the vessels on Lake Superior were not common carriers, but in 1844 they began to be used for carrying passengers and freight. The Erie Canal traffic as well as shipping facilities and forwarding houses between New York and Albany are discussed again and again in the company's correspondence.

With the letters pertaining to transportation might well be mentioned those bearing on insurance of various kinds. Marine insurance was obtained by the American Fur Company on goods shipped from New York to England and New Orleans by sea, and on the merchandise sent inland by way of the Great Lakes and the Mississippi, Ohio, and Missouri rivers. Rates and methods were discussed in many letters. A number of bad accidents occurred which afford the student an opportunity of discovering whether the insurance companies covered losses promptly and satisfactorily. Fire insurance was also secured on the buildings and stock of all the important inland posts, like those at Detroit, the Sault, and Prairie du Chien; and on the storehouses and buildings in New York. The great New York fire of December, 1835, was the occasion for much correspondence concerning insurance. Immediately thereafter Crooks wrote to Joseph Blain of Philadelphia asking for \$40,000 insurance. Blain replied that for the present insurance boards would not accept any risks on New York accounts at any premium. This reply led Crooks to write, on December 21, to George Wildes and Company of London stating that American insurance companies were ruined and that the company's property was now unprotected and asking advice about getting insurance in London. On December 24 the Traders' Insurance Company of New York sent out a circular recalling all policies in order to be able to settle with sufferers from the recent fire. These and other letters indicate not only the kind of material that may be found on

fire insurance but also how local conditions and events are often described quite incidentally in business papers.

Like the correspondence relating to transportation, that dealing with banking conditions is voluminous. As much of the business of the company was transacted in the region where wildcat banks were most flourishing, the information on such institutions is of great value. Particularly for the panic of 1837 and the "hard times" of 1839 are the data instructive and interesting. On June 3, 1837, Rix Robinson, a trader on Grand River, Michigan, wrote to Crooks, "Panic pervades even the wilderness". The international aspect of the crisis also appears: in a letter of May 30, Gott and Sons, the company's agents in Leeds, wrote that commercial relations between the United States and Great Britain were so embarrassed as to cause alarm. The correspondence of C. M. Lampson of London gives useful information, otherwise difficult to find, regarding the amount and kinds of American securities held by Europeans. It is interesting, for example, to learn that in 1841 Lampson held certificates for ten thousand dollars' worth of Pennsylvania state stock and was interested in bonds of the state of Missouri. He also owned fifteen shares of the American Fur Company's stock.

On December 4, 1837, Brewster wrote in haste to Crooks that \$500,000 of a Michigan loan had been taken in Detroit and that the high rate of exchange would soon be reduced materially. "Now", he writes, "is the time to purchase our Michigan money in your city on speculation, and if the Company has funds or can borrow them, I have no doubt but a very handsome operation could be made in operating largely in the purchase of the certificates of our Banks." A list of Detroit banks follows. Similarly, references to banking conditions in Ohio, Illinois, and Indiana are numerous throughout the letters of the company and its factors, the latter constantly drawing drafts on the company to pay for furs and skins purchased in those regions. It would be interesting to make a study showing how important as a source of ready cash the American Fur Company was in this country of scarce money.

Although Lampson was more intimately connected with the American Fur Company than any other foreigner, the correspondence with several other English firms was very heavy and revealed contacts between England and America that are well worth consideration. The company's books show that from \$150,000 to \$200,000 worth of furs was shipped yearly by the company to England, and this amount with the profit from sales was invested in

blankets, cutlery, silver ornaments, calico, strouds, vermillion, traps, guns, and a long list of other articles. Blankets and cloths were obtained from A. and S. Henry and Company and Benjamin Gott and Sons of Leeds, and from Crafts and Stell of Manchester. Hiram Cutler of Sheffield sent scalping knives, other knives, traps, flints, and a general assortment of cutlery. Fielden Brothers and Company and Crary, Fletcher, and Company, both of Liverpool, acted as shipping agents; and George Wildes and Company, of London, and later Wildes, Pickersgill, and Company of Liverpool, served, to a considerable extent at least, as bankers. Abstracts of a few letters from these firms will serve to illustrate the kind of data that can be found in their correspondence with the company.

On December 30, 1837, Wildes, Pickersgill, and Company sent an abstract of the American Fur Company's account current for the past six months showing a balance of £16,022 4s. 4d. in favor of the Liverpool firm. On February 8, 1838, Crooks wrote to Gott and Sons that he had shipped sample French blankets to them; that he considered French blankets superior to the English varieties, except that the latter were a clearer white—a point never overlooked by Indians; and he advised that three point blankets be reduced in size. On January 1, 1838, A. and S. Henry and Company sent a circular stating that trade had improved and prices were high, that the rise in prices of cotton was of importance to America, that the actual consumption of cotton in 1837 was greater than that of 1836, that wool and silk prices had advanced, that stocks of articles adapted to the American trade were light, and that time would be required for execution of orders.

Other foreign correspondents were De Massiac and De Loisson of Pierry, France, who shipped wines to Crooks to be sold in the chief American cities. In 1846 they were seeking to increase their sales in the United States and requested Crooks to present samples of their wines to individual Congressmen, as such generosity would extend a knowledge of their product to every state. Another French firm was represented by Alphonse Loubat, who secured blankets, ribbons, and other French merchandise. He seems to have been connected with a firm in New York and with the commission house of Tardieu and Loubat in Havre.

In Venice Alessandro Bertolla was Crooks's correspondent, and from Trieste Bazil Suppantichitsch wrote to him at irregular intervals. The former shipped an incongruous assortment of Indian beads, hats, and clocks. The latter was interested chiefly in Baraga, shipping him ecclesiastical ornaments, books, and money.

From these foreign correspondents one learns much of the aspect of American foreign relations. Especially in 1845 and 1846, when the Oregon question and the Mexican War loomed large, are the comments interesting. On July 10, 1845, Sir George Simpson, the governor of the Hudson's Bay Company, wrote of his satisfaction in the dying of excitement over the Oregon question; about four thousand Americans were settled in Oregon and were much disappointed in the character and resources of the region; there was a strong disposition on the part of these emigrants to declare themselves independent; he feared that the boundary question would remain unsettled for some years and that his company would suffer from a disorderly population in the vicinity of the settlements. A. and S. Henry and Company also gave circumstantial evidence of the widespread interest in the Oregon question; on March 3, 1846, they offered apologies to Crooks for not having filled an order at the rate previously named, but excused themselves on the ground that the heavy government contracts for army cloth had raised prices. Crooks wrote once, in 1846, that he expected to get his English goods soon, "if Polk can keep his hands off the British a little while longer". On June 11, 1846, Massiac and Loisson wrote that French newspapers predicted that the Mexican War would be settled by the intervention of England and France. By the end of 1846 the Oregon trouble was past—and the Mexican War never seemed of especial importance to the American Fur Company—but an event in Russia was proving of sufficient magnitude to attract attention: the Czar forbade Russian Jews to wear certain furs. This ukase was the cause of fewer sales of his furs, wrote Crooks to Abbott.<sup>12</sup>

A change is visible in the company's correspondence after the summer of 1842. That year was one of the worst in the history of the American Fur Company. The winter was mild—so mild that furs could not be secured in the Ohio Valley and on the headwaters of the Mississippi; the bank situation in the United States was a constant irritant to business of all varieties; a large stock of furs lay unsold; the "war" between Great Britain and China kept the ports of the latter country closed to commerce and so the best market for otters could not be reached; the new Russian tariff was being vigorously enforced and many of the American Fur Company's wares at the Leipzig fair could no longer find their way, openly or secretly, beyond the German frontier into Russia; the Leipzig fair itself was the worst in years; and the American Fur Company lost

<sup>12</sup> Crooks to Samuel Abbott, Dec. 22, 1846.

heavily. In September the company suspended payment and was placed in the hands of George Ehninger as receiver. The next few years were devoted to paying its debts. The correspondence of the early part of 1846 seems to show a reorganization of the company at that time. Thereafter it appears to have acted as a commission house marketing furs for other companies and securing their merchandise in European markets. A new charter was obtained, stating that the capital of the firm was three hundred thousand dollars. In many ways the company's interests remained as before and no break is discernible in its correspondence. Its records, however, end for all practical purposes with the year 1847.

A complete calendar of the papers of the American Fur Company with index has been prepared under the supervision of the writer through the co-operation of the following historical agencies: the New York Historical Society, the Burton Historical Collection of the Detroit Public Library, the Indiana State Library, the Historical Survey of the University of Illinois, the Edward E. Ayer Collection of the Newberry Library, the Missouri Historical Society, the State Historical Society of Iowa, the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, and the Minnesota Historical Society. Calendaring was begun in December, 1922, and completed in September, 1925. The original cards were sent to the manuscript division of the Minnesota Historical Society, where they were arranged in chronological order and indexed. A copy of the calendar was then made for each of the co-operating agencies. Including the index of 244 pages, the calendar, which consists of 18,181 items, fills 1942 typed pages. The cost of such a big piece of work was reduced to the minimum for every subscriber by the pooling of funds, and amounted to but \$3450 for the calendaring and the typing. In the libraries of these nine institutions the student can now consult a typed abstract of every document in the collection and determine for himself without an expensive trip to New York whether the collection contains aught for his purpose.

The student of the fur trade is thus well supplied with source-material and with physical aids to research. It is to be hoped that with the way made thus so smooth for him, he will soon begin to write an adequate history of the American Fur Company. It is to be hoped also that workers in other fields will perceive the value of these papers and make good use of them.

GRACE LEE NUTE.



## NOTES AND SUGGESTIONS

### BYZANTINE STUDIES IN RUSSIA, PAST AND PRESENT<sup>1</sup>

FOR a long time Russia lived and developed under the political, social, and commercial influence of the Byzantine Empire. Like the Byzantine emperor, the Russian sovereign of Kiev, and later of Moscow, was the head and protector of the Orthodox Church. After the conquest of Constantinople by the Turks in 1453, Orthodox peoples began to consider the Russian sovereign as the unique protector and defender of the whole Orthodox world. As the Byzantine Empire was a direct continuation of the Roman Empire, and the new capital of the Byzantine Empire, Constantinople, was very often called the second Rome, so Moscow, the capital of the Russian state, was called by some Russian writers of the end of the fifteenth and of the beginning of the sixteenth centuries the third Rome. Under Peter the Great we may observe a reaction against the Byzantine influence and the Byzantine ideals, and a plainly expressed predilection for the West and the Western culture. It is only from the beginning of the nineteenth century that we can see the first efforts in the domain of Byzantine history. Among those Germans who having come to Russia remained there and devoted their whole lives to studies in Russia, two names may be mentioned, Philip Krug and Ernst Kunik; the latter died in 1899, almost octogenarian. Both scholars, pointing out the great importance of Byzantine studies for ancient Russian history, treated mostly the questions which, having a connection with the old Russian life, might more or less elucidate Russian history. But until the second half of the nineteenth century, we can not speak of serious and systematic studies in Russia on our subject.

A really solid foundation for the systematic study of Byzantine history in Russia was laid by V. G. Vasilievski, professor in the University of Petrograd and member of the Academy of Sciences (d. 1899). Superior to all historians of his time by his accurate and varied knowledge and his critical sagacity, he gave us a series of the most important works in different sections of Byzantology. Byzantium and the West, especially before the first crusade, Byzantium and ancient Russia, lives of saints as historical sources, accounts of the Oriental sources for Byzantine and old Russian history, were the favorite topics of this great Russian Byzantinist. He brought to light

<sup>1</sup> Paper read at the meeting of the American Historical Association at Ann Arbor, December, 1925.

and tried to elucidate some of the social and economic problems of Byzantine history, and he was the first editor of the Russian Byzantine review (the *Vizantiiski Vremennik*), published by the Academy of Sciences at Petrograd from 1894 on.

Simultaneously with Vasilievski Baron V. Rosen, professor of Arabic in the University of Petrograd and member of the Academy of Sciences, translated into Russian many Arabic texts concerning Byzantine and old Russian history and showed the importance of these texts in such studies. The works of Vasilievski and Rosen were very soon used by European writers, who fully acknowledged the results attained by these two Russian scholars.

At the same time V. I. Lamanski, professor in the University of Petrograd, very well known in Russia and in all Slavonic countries, was one of the first-class men in the field of Slavonic history and Slavonic international relations. As the history of the southern Slavonic peoples was closely connected with that of the Byzantine Empire, the greater part of Lamanski's works is very important for Byzantine history: for example, his book about the Slavs in Asia Minor, North Africa, and Spain, as well as his investigations on Cyril and Methodius, the famous missionaries to the Slavonic tribes in the ninth century, throw a bright light upon the Slavonic problem in Byzantium, which had a great part in the political, religious, and economic life of the Byzantine Empire.

Moreover, many of the Russian professors of classics, at the end of the nineteenth and at the beginning of the twentieth centuries, gradually began to treat Byzantine subjects and study Byzantine texts—for instance, V. Ernstedt, P. Nikitin, and V. Latyshev.

Simultaneously with Vasilievski, Rosen, and Lamanski rose the gigantic figure of N. P. Kondakov, who, born in 1844, died at Prague an octogenarian, February 16, 1925. Everyone who takes a serious interest in Byzantine archaeology and art is well acquainted with the works, or, at least, with the name and chief ideas of this outstanding scholar. A great many of the questions and problems in the domain of the general history of art, archaeology, and culture were treated in the standard works of Kondakov—questions and problems of classical art, of Hellenistic and early Christian art, of the art of the nomadic peoples of the second to tenth centuries, especially in Southern Russia and Eastern Europe, of Byzantine art, of West-European art of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, and of Slavonic and Russian art.

What is the chief idea of Kondakov on the significance of Byzantine art? That Byzantium was a concentration of all elements of the history of art in the sixth to twelfth centuries. Byzantium,

having inherited the ancient culture, adapted at a later time, but still first among European countries, the art of many nomad peoples that passed through the great plains of Southern Russia or stayed there for a certain time. Adapting this peculiar art Byzantium transformed it, added to it new forms and motives, and transmitted it in such a new form to the peoples of Western Europe. These are the titles of his most important works: "The History of Byzantine Art and Iconography, based on the Miniatures of Greek Manuscripts"; "The Byzantine Enamels"; "The Monuments of the Christian Art of Mount Athos"; "The Iconography of Our Lord" and "The Iconography of the Holy Virgin"; "The Mosaics of the Mosque of Kahrie-Djami in Constantinople"; his "Archaeological Journeys through Syria and Macedonia"; "The Russian Treasures"; and the six volumes of Russian antiquities (with I. Tolstoi). In these two latter works has been collected a great mass of material on Byzantine art affecting the problem of the connections between ancient Russian art and that of Byzantium.

The influence of Kondakov's works and his ideas spread far beyond the limits of Russia. He created in Russia a group of real scholars. Among the foreign scholars, Minns in England, Millet in France, Muñoz in Italy say that they belong to Kondakov's school.

Another octogenarian scholar, who is fortunately still alive, is Th. I. Uspenski. He has remained in Russia during the whole period of revolution, and is continuing his work at Petrograd. Uspenski concentrated his chief interest on various problems of the internal history of Byzantium, especially on problems of social and economic life. Quite a new page in his life began in 1894, when the Russian Archaeological Institute was created in Constantinople. Uspenski was appointed the director of this important institution, which existed till the Great War. After Turkey had entered into the war on the side of Germany, he left Constantinople for Russia.

During his directorship, Uspenski organized many archaeological expeditions to Asia Minor, Syria, Bulgaria, Trebizond, and Serbia. In most of these expeditions he took part personally. From the point of view of archaeology the results of his activity in Constantinople were very important, especially the excavations directed by him on the site of the ancient capital of the first Bulgarian state in the Balkan Peninsula. The sixteen volumes of the publications of the Russian Institute, containing a great deal of archaeological and historical material, are a very solid monument to the activity of the Russian and, in some cases, foreign scholars, who had worked under the direction of Uspenski. Since the war this important archaeological institution has no longer existed.

Many interesting papers and books were printed in the publications of the various spiritual academies of Russia (a kind of high divinity schools), for instance, those of Petrograd, Moscow, Kiev, and Kazan.

In 1917 the revolution broke out in Russia. Then came the years 1919-1921—years of famine, of cold, of darkness; communication from one place to another was almost completely interrupted. Printing, especially of scientific papers, became almost impossible. Of the small group of Russian Byzantinists, a certain number could not bear the privations and sufferings of such severe conditions of life and died. Then died the eminent archaeologist I. Smirnov, beloved pupil of Kondakov; Chr. Loparev, connoisseur of Byzantine lives of saints; P. Bezobrazov, fine investigator of complicated and difficult problems of the internal history of Byzantium; B. Pantchenko, author of an interesting book on the Byzantine peasantry and of the catalogue of the Byzantine seals in the Museum of the Russian Archaeological Institute in Constantinople; I. Kulakovski, author of the first general history of Byzantium (to A. D. 717) written in Russian; N. Skabalanovitch, high authority on the problems of the history of the Byzantine Church; Latyshev, excellent scholar in the field of Byzantine texts and Greek inscriptions; finally, Szepuro, quite a young man, who, studying Caucasian languages, Armenian, and Georgian, and knowing Greek and Latin well, promised to become later an eminent scholar.

The Russian Byzantine review (the *Vizantiiski Vremennik*) ceased to appear. The spiritual academies having been closed, their publications were also suppressed.

At the present time I can mention the following names of Russian scholars in Petrograd, who are interested in Byzantine studies and are known in scientific circles: D. Ainalov, V. Beneshevitch, A. Dmitriievski, N. Likhatchev, N. Malizki, A. Smirnov, I. Sokolov, N. Sytchev, Th. Schmitt, Th. Uspenski, V. Valdenberg; in Moscow and other places, N. Protasov, Nekrasov, A. Rudakov, E. Tchernousov. Some of these scholars spent the hardest years not in Petrograd, but outside, mostly in various cities of Southern Russia, where conditions of living seemed to be better than in Petrograd. Ainalov came to Petrograd from the Crimea, Dmitriievski from Astrakhan, Sokolov and Schmitt from Kiev.

While the Russian Byzantinists, exhausted by the severe conditions of daily living and separated one from another, were working as well as was possible, individually, there was created in 1918, in Petrograd, the Academy for the History of Material Culture. As a matter of fact, it was the former Archaeological Commission, very

well known in Russia and abroad, which was enlarged and transformed into the Academy under the new name just mentioned. The new Academy was divided into three departments: ethnography, archaeology, and art, its general object being to study all three in all times and among all countries and peoples. The department of archaeology was subdivided into sections, one of which took the name of the section of Early Christian and Byzantine Archaeology. I was elected chairman of the latter section.

My chief object was at first to concentrate in my section some of the scattered scientific forces by introducing into it, as well as I might, young men and young women who had already begun to work, but during the first years of the revolution had been dispersed and deprived of the possibility of working systematically. For one small group of participants I chose the topic of the historical and archaeological study of the medieval Crimea, long a province in the Byzantine Empire, and of the adjacent places. The monuments of the Middle Ages in the Crimea—Greek, Roman, Gothic, Byzantine, Italian (Genoese and Venetian)—have not yet been systematically studied. This small group consisted of Mr. A. Smirnov and of three young women: the Misses N. Izmailova, H. Skrzynskaya, and M. Tikhanova. I myself took up the study of the Gothic problem in the Crimea and of the flourishing medieval Venetian colony of Tana at the mouth of the Don. Smirnov began to collect material for the history and archaeology of the peninsula of Tmutarakan (Taman), east of the Crimea; Miss Izmailova studied the monuments of the city of Cherson (Korsun), where the Russian prince Vladimir was converted to Christianity; Miss Skrzynskaya the Italian, especially Genoese, monuments of Sudak and Theodosia, two small cities on the southern shore of the Crimea; and Miss Tikhanova the history and the archaeological tradition of the city of Kertch (Bosphorus), opposite to the peninsula of Tmutarakan. It was during all those years a great consolation and encouragement to me to come to our cold room and to see that these young persons, in spite of famine and cold, were working strenuously and willingly. Under such circumstances all available material has been collected, and in 1924, two of the members of my group could at last, for the first time from the beginning of their work, go to the Crimea and study on the spot the archaeological remains of the Crimean Middle Ages. In 1925 three members of my sections went to the Crimea. Miss Skrzynskaya has measured all the Genoese fortifications of Sudak and made new copies of all Italian inscriptions, which will be published in Genoa in the *Atti della Società Ligure di Storia Patria*. Misses Izmailova and

Tikhanova have also brought together very interesting materials on Cherson and Kertch.

Summarizing all achievements of my section, I can say that some of the material is now ready for publication. The first part of my book on the Goths in the Crimea has appeared in the *Publications of the Academy for the History of Material Culture* (vol. I., 1921); but the second and third parts of it, completely ready for publication, can not be printed for want of means. It was unexpectedly fortunate for me to have the second and last volume of my *General History of Byzantium* published in Petrograd (1923-1925).

In addition to the medieval Crimea, my section also took up the study of conditions of internal life in Byzantium—customs and manners, street life, the theatre, the Byzantine house and its utensils, church utensils, costume, and so forth. Well-known scholars, Ainalov, Likhatchev, Malizki, Th. Schmitt, Th. Uspenski, joined it, each however also continuing his special individual work. Ainalov has studied the mosaics of the cathedral of Kiev and of some other churches and monasteries of Kiev and of Tchernigov, closely connected with Byzantine mosaics, and has discovered at Moscow an extremely interesting thirteenth-century manuscript of the Greek chronicle of Georgios Hamartolos with more than a hundred miniatures, exceedingly important from the point of view of historical and archaeological details. Likhatchev is working on the history of Byzantine and Russian seals, Malizki on the Byzantine miniatures of the so-called Psalter of Khludov, Th. Schmitt on the architecture and mosaics of the cathedral of Kiev, Th. Uspenski, the octogenarian chief of Russian Byzantinism, on the internal history of the Empire of Trebizond.

Owing to Uspenski's energy, there has been established at the Academy of Sciences the Commission of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, the Byzantine emperor of the tenth century, in whose time the empire became a real centre of international life. The chief object of this commission was to collect all sources of this epoch, literary and archaeological, to translate the collected texts into Russian, and so to lay a solid foundation for the general investigation of the most important and brilliant period of Byzantine history, particularly interesting for the primitive history of Russia. When, a few years ago, a movement began in Western Europe for a new edition, corrected and enlarged, of Ducange's famous dictionary of medieval Latin, Uspenski brought about at the Academy of Sciences the creation of a Commission of Ducange, which should collect material for a new corrected and enlarged edition of Ducange's dictionary of medieval Greek. This commission and the Commission of Con-



stantine Porphyrogenitus have been united into one, the Commission of Ducange, of which Uspenski is chairman.

For the last six or seven years two Russian scholars, N. Sytchev and the architect C. Romanov, have made very interesting and important studies of Byzantine and West-European influences in old Russia, in the churches of Novgorod and Pskov, where many new frescoes have been discovered, photographed, and studied. V. Beneshevitch is working on some problems of the Byzantine jurisprudence; A. Dmitriievski on the Byzantine liturgic texts, selected from copies formerly made by him from Greek manuscripts in various monasteries of the Near East; Valdenberg on the development of political theories and thought in Byzantium. He has now nearly finished a book in two volumes on the history of political literature in Byzantium.

I know well that the Russian scholars, in recent years, from a normal point of view, have not achieved very much. But when I remember all the difficulties and all the privations and complications of daily life in Russia for the last seven or eight years, I may say with a feeling of some satisfaction that the Russian Byzantinists, old and young, have fulfilled their moral duty and done what they could.

Byzantology now has in Europe the most flourishing period of its existence. There are four special Byzantine reviews: two in Germany—in Munich the *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* and in Berlin the *Byzantinische und Neugriechische Jahrbücher*; one in Belgium, *Byzantion*, and one in Italy, *Bizanzio*, the first volume of which will soon be published. Unfortunately, the Russian publications—the *Vizantiiski Vremennik* in Petrograd and the memoirs of the Russian Archaeological Institute of Constantinople—have ceased; but I may hope, only for a time, not for ever, and indeed in 1926 the twenty-four volume of the *Vizantiiski Vremennik* came out (the managing editor is Th. I. Uspenski).

There is no doubt that, in comparison with all that is achieved elsewhere, the Russian scholars of recent years play a rather modest part in modern Byzantology. But there was a time when foreign scholars agreed that in the history of Byzantine art and in the internal history of the Byzantine Empire, Russian scholars held the first place, and I look forward hopefully to a better time for Byzantology in Russia.

ALEXANDER A. VASILIEV.

## THE FIRST PHILANTHROPIC ORGANIZATION IN AMERICA

IT is not always remembered that the Catholic Church, from the time of its establishment in the New World in the early part of the sixteenth century, was not merely a religious organization; under its auspices there came into existence the educational system of Spanish America and all the philanthropic agencies which had for their purpose the relief of the poor, the sick, the aged, the widows and orphans. Thus it was that the first philanthropic society formed in the New World, while composed of laymen, was a charitable organization which operated in conjunction with the cathedral of Mexico City. Fortunately the early records of this brotherhood have been preserved, and from the one hundred and forty-four yellowed leaves of the *Book of the Brotherhood of the Blessed Sacrament for Charity*<sup>1</sup> the history of its accomplishments may be followed until almost the close of the sixteenth century.

Scarcely had the Spaniards gained a foothold in Mexico City before the need of some form of organization for the dispensation of charity was realized. As a result, a meeting was held in the monastery of San Francisco on March 16, 1538, at which was organized the Brotherhood of the Blessed Sacrament. Among those present were men who had served under Pedrarias, Ayllon, Cortés, and Narváez; probably the best known of the group was Francisco Vásquez de Coronado, who was later to lead the expedition into New Mexico. The twenty-three charter members authorized a committee to draw up a constitution in which the general purposes of the order were set forth, as follows: to render assistance to the needy, to visit and care for the sick, to visit and provide food for prisoners, to assist needy widows, and to educate orphan girls. A school was to be established in which these girls might live under the supervision of a Spanish woman, and dowries were to be provided in order that they might be suitably married. Provision was made for aiding persons without funds who wished to return to Spain, and efforts were to be made to care for all new arrivals. Charity was to be extended to any person, but especially to Castilians, for the majority of the members, being from that province, felt it to be particularly incumbent upon them to care for their countrymen.

To carry on the work of the organization, there were to be five officials—a president, two deputies, and two accountants. Each of these was elected for a term of six months; one of the six was to be retained for a second term, the others being ineligible for re-election. No person holding a public office might serve as an officer in the

<sup>1</sup> Manuscript in the library of the University of Texas.

Brotherhood. A box for the collection of alms was to be placed in the cathedral; to this there were to be three keys, one to be held by the president, the second by one of the deputies, and the third by one of the accountants. The joint duties of these three consisted in guarding the funds when removed from the box, and disbursing such amounts as were voted to specific purposes by the body.

The financial records of this organization are of especial interest. From these it can be seen that one of the principal tasks which the organization took upon itself was to send to meet each *flota*, upon its arrival at Vera Cruz, a representative who was authorized to purchase food or other necessities for any travellers who were sick or in want. In order that the spiritual needs of these immigrants might not be neglected, a priest was sent down from Mexico City to minister to them on their arrival. What a relief it must have been to the poor wretches who had been confined in the ships for months to find awaiting them, in a foreign land, representatives of such a philanthropic agency! Among the items of expense incurred by the representative at Vera Cruz were: meat, quinces, oil, honey, almonds, wine, candles, cloaks, sandals, purgatives, a lancet for bleeding, transportation of a sick man and his possessions, food along the way, and care of a *fraile* too weak to proceed beyond Perote. Horses were provided at the expense of the Brotherhood for those too feeble to make the trip to the capital on foot; medicines and medical attention were furnished to the sick. According to the report of July 21, 1538, 350 *pesos* had been expended in caring for those newly arrived in the *flota*. Among other items of expense which occur regularly throughout the records are: shoes, bedding, drugs, passage money for conquistadores wishing to return to Spain, fines for prisoners, and food of various kinds.

As was the case with many Spanish organizations, great attention was given to the regulations governing the Brotherhood. Four different constitutions were drafted within a few years, all of which are set forth in the book of records which survives. Among the amendments are provisions that members of the organization should attend the funeral of any dead member; that the organization should provide funds for the burial of paupers; and that some member should accompany each such body to the grave. There was to be a joint weekly celebration of mass, and the feast of the Blessed Sacrament was to be observed with proper ceremonies. In amending the clause relative to the election of officers, it was voted that any member who refused to accept an office should be fined; fines were also to be assessed against any member who failed to be present at the regular meetings of the body—the penalty in this case being a pound of white

wax. It was required of members that they visit regularly the sick, the poor, and those in prison. Evidently salt was not one of the items included in prison fare, for the records show that it was one of the luxuries provided by this organization to those making longer or shorter sojourns in the various penal establishments.

The asylum for orphan girls did not come into actual existence as soon as anticipated. Although projected in 1538, the plan did not take definite form until 1548, and not until 1552 was a house purchased to serve as a permanent home. The original regulations for this establishment were quite as detailed as those governing the Brotherhood, and were amended quite as frequently. The first plan called for the housing of thirty Spanish and *mestizo* orphan girls; the next, forty. Discipline was strict. No women, not even the wives of officers of the Brotherhood, were allowed to visit the home without permission; no official, not even the *mayordomo*, was admitted alone. A special chaplain was appointed and paid by the organization for his services in the asylum. All proceedings relating to its control were to be held in inviolable secrecy by the officials.

As the work of the organization grew, it became necessary to appoint a solicitor who acted as a business manager under the direction of the officials. Such an appointment was made in 1574 when Agustín Castano became the incumbent. Among the various duties performed by him, there is mentioned the purchase of a slave to serve in the asylum; later, one who was too old to be of much service was sold by him. On one occasion, when the walls of a room in the asylum had fallen and the business manager had not the authority to order repairs, he induced the officers to make an inspection of the building in order to understand the urgency of the case. When the situation was realized, as no funds were available to make the repairs necessary, the members were required to go begging on the streets until a sufficient amount was obtained.

The last ten pages of the manuscript are taken up largely with the details of the management of the orphan asylum. In 1579, as it had been found that fifty *pesos* was not sufficient to cover the expense of a girl for a year, it was decided that each girl, or some patron for her, must pay a certain amount of meal in addition to twenty *pesos de mina* each year. In that same year the problem of getting Isabel Maldonado married presented itself—a dowry of five hundred *pesos* had to be provided. Fortunately, it was found that another orphan who had been married some years still had no children; for that reason, three hundred *pesos* of her dowry had to be returned. If a marriage was dissolved, for any reason, the full dowry was forfeited

by the husband. It would never have been possible for the organization to have maintained the asylum on the scale established had not wealthy patrons left bequests. In 1580 Pedro Garico left one thousand *pesos* which provided for a number of girls whose names are duly entered in the records.

The last meeting, of which the minutes appear in this volume, took place on July 21, 1584. The final official act was the decision of the body to have all the deeds and papers belonging to the Brotherhood filed in the civil records of Mexico City.

Among the more important items in this manuscript are the autographs of the members of the organization. At the end of the proceedings of each meeting the signatures of the approving officials appear. Unfortunately the signatures of the original founding members were not included, probably because the record-book had not yet been bought, but among those which do appear frequently later are Cervantes de Salazar, Doctor Mendez, Doctor Vique, Bernardo de Albornoz, Juan de Cueva, Luis de Castillo, and Santiago de Figueroa. Indeed, hundreds of autographs of the conquistadores and their descendants adorn the pages of this manuscript—undoubtedly one of the most interesting of those extant which picture life in Mexico City in the sixteenth century. For in this volume, replete as it is with entries which reveal in an intimate fashion social conditions in the capital of Spanish North America, are preserved the details of the founding and accomplishments of the first philanthropic society organized by Europeans in the New World.

LOTA SPELL.

## DOCUMENTS

### 1. *A Society for Preservation of Liberty, 1784.*

THE original of the following interesting document came some years ago, as a gift, into the possession of the Library of the University of North Carolina. It is printed in the form of a broadside upon a single sheet of heavy paper, now yellowed and stained from age. It carried nothing to indicate where it was printed. All attempts to discover any allusion, contemporary or later, to the organization described have failed. No contemporary Virginia newspapers have been found. At William and Mary College, the most probable place for investigation, there is nothing which throws light upon it. The same is true of the Division of Archives of the Virginia State Library and the Virginia Historical Society. Dr. Lyon G. Tyler, Dr. Philip Alexander Bruce, Mr. W. G. Stannard, and Mr. Morgan P. Robinson, the men best qualified to speak with authority on the subject of Virginia history of this period, have never found any allusion to it. A close search of the various histories of Virginia, of the biographies of Madison, Monroe, and Patrick Henry, and of such contemporary correspondence as is available has brought only negative results, and while it seems scarcely likely that this is the sole surviving copy of the broadside, so far no other has been found.

The document follows:

We, the undersigned, having associated for the purpose of preserving and handing down to posterity, those pure and sacred principles of Liberty, which have been derived to us, from the happy event of the late glorious Revolution, and being convinced, that the surest mode to secure Republican systems of Government from lapsing into Tyranny, is by giving free and frequent information to the mass of people, both of the nature of them, and of the measures which may be adopted by their several component parts; have determined, and do hereby most solemnly pledge ourselves to each other, by every holy tie and obligation, which free men ought to hold inestimably dear, that every one in his respective station, will keep a watchful eye over the great fundamental rights of the people.

That we will without reserve, communicate our thoughts to each other, and to the people, on every subject which may either tend to amend our Government, or to preserve it from the innovations of ambition, and the designs of faction.

To accomplish this desirable object, we do agree to commit to paper our sentiments, in plain and intelligible language, on every subject which concerns the General Weal; and transmit the same to the Honorable John



Blair, Esq; whom we hereby constitute president of the said society, with powers to congregate the members thereof, either at Richmond or Williamsburg whenever he may suppose that he has a sufficient quantity of materials collected for publication. It is farther agreed, that it shall be a rule of the said society, that no publications shall be made till after mature deliberation in the convocation, it shall have been so determined, by at least two thirds of the present members.

JOHN BLAIR  
JAMES MADISON  
ROBERT ANDREWS  
JAMES M'CLURG  
JOHN PAGE  
JAMES INNES  
MANN PAGE  
JAMES MADISON, Jun.  
PATRICK HENRY  
THOMAS LOMAX  
EDMUND RANDOLPH  
WILLIAM SHROT<sup>1</sup>  
WILLIAM FLEMING  
JOHN BRECKENRIDGE  
ARCHIBALD STEUART<sup>2</sup>  
JOSEPH JONES  
WILLIAM NELSON, Jun.  
B. RANDOLPH  
JAMES MARSHALL  
RICARD<sup>3</sup> HENRY LEE  
WILLIAM LEE  
LUDWELL LEE  
WILLIAM GRAYSON  
FRANCIS CORBIN  
PHILIP MAZZEI  
WILSON C. NICHOLAS  
JOHN NICHOLAS  
JOHN TAYLOR  
J. BROWN  
RICHARD B. LEE  
SPENCER ROANE  
ALEXANDER WHITE  
JAMES MONROE  
ARTHUR LEE.

At a meeting held on the 15th of June, 1784.

Resolved, that the following declaration be added to the paper originally signed by the members, viz.

The Society being persuaded, that the liberty of a people is most secure when the extent of their rights, and the measures of government concerning them are known, do declare that the purpose of this institution is to communicate by fit publications such facts and sentiments as tend to unfold and explain the one or the other.

<sup>1</sup> Evidently William Short.

<sup>2</sup> Stuart is correct.

<sup>3</sup> Richard.

The document is interesting in its revelation of the existing political situation in Virginia as it appeared to the group of men who formed the agreement. It is, perhaps, even more interesting in respect to the rather remarkable group of men who thus came together—a group which, in talent and experience, could scarcely have been assembled in any other American state.

Some idea of its quality will be gained by noting that it included, of those notable in national matters, one signer of the Declaration of Independence—Richard Henry Lee; two presidents of the United States—Madison and Monroe; three secretaries of state—Edmund Randolph, Madison, and Monroe; two attorneys general—Randolph and Breckenridge; one associate justice of the Supreme Court—Blair; four foreign ministers—Arthur Lee, William Lee, Monroe, and Short; thirteen members of the Continental Congress or Congress of the Confederation—Henry, R. H. Lee, Madison, Arthur Lee, Monroe, White (North Carolina), Brown, W. C. Nicholas, Grayson, Fleming, E. Randolph, Mann Page, and Jones; four members of the Federal Convention—Madison, Randolph, Blair, and McClurg; seven senators—Breckenridge, Taylor, W. C. Nicholas, Grayson, R. H. Lee, Monroe, and Brown (Kentucky), the last being president *pro tempore* of the Senate; and nine representatives—John Page, Fleming, White, R. B. Lee, Brown (Kentucky), John Nicholas, W. C. Nicholas, Madison, and Breckenridge.

In state affairs there is of course an even wider range of service. The group includes five governors of Virginia; nine members of the executive council of Virginia; three state attorneys general; three judges of the court of appeals; four judges of lower courts; six members of the colonial assembly; twenty-two members of state legislatures; two colonial agents in England; five members of the convention of 1775; eight members of the convention of 1776 which adopted the first constitution of Virginia; fourteen members of the convention of 1788; and two members of the convention of 1829—Madison, and Monroe who was its president.

Nineteen of the group were alumni of the College of William and Mary. Other institutions of learning which had sons included were: Oxford, Cambridge, Princeton, the University of Pennsylvania and College of Philadelphia, and Eton. Four had read law in the Temple, and three had completed the course in medicine at Edinburgh. A number had military experience, in the French and Indian War or in the Revolution. One was afterward a bishop, others professors, members or presidents of the Phi Beta Kappa Society.

J. G. DE ROULHAC HAMILTON.

2. *H. L. Bulwer on the Death of President Taylor, 1850.*

The following letter addressed to Lord Palmerston, Foreign Secretary, by Sir Henry Lytton Bulwer, British envoy in Washington, afterward Lord Dalling, is sent to the *Review* by Mr. Amos A. Ettinger, an American student in Brasenose College, who found the original in the London Public Record Office, F. O. America, 513, no. 131.

WASHINGTON, July 11, 1850.

*My Lord:*

I requested Mr. Grattan by telegraph yesterday morning to inform Your Lordship that General Taylor had just departed this life after a sudden and short illness.

On Sunday night medical attendance was summoned. During Monday the symptoms did not seem alarming. On Tuesday they became so; and on Tuesday night at half past ten o'clock the President had ceased to exist.

Dysentery and fever, the reigning complaints of Washington at this time, carried him off.

He is the second Whig President who within the last few years has died in office.

Mr. Fillmore the Vice President succeeds him as Mr. Tyler on a former occasion succeeded General Harrison.

General Taylor the Whig Presidential Candidate in 1848 was chosen by the People not because he belonged to a party, but because he had distinguished himself as an individual; or rather as a soldier.

This fact constituted the principal subsequent difficulty of his position.

Disliked by the Whig leaders because he had superseded their pretensions to power, he had to govern with the Whig party, which, however influential and respectable, does not even when united form the strongest party in this Country.

A majority in the two houses was opposed to his administration and a party attack in which his own name was comprehended disturbed the few last conscious hours of his existence.

His general abilities were good, his experience in public life and political affairs small; his mind not uncultivated; he seems to have possessed some military genius, and to have been uniformly fortunate in war.

Firmness, which his opponents called obstinacy, was his predominant characteristic. His intentions were always good; his word could always be relied upon; his manners were downright, simple, straightforward; his name was popular throughout the Union, and he died almost universally respected and lamented.

The effect which his death may have upon political affairs seems to be in some degree uncertain. His successor is what is here called "a Northern Whig", that is an anti-free trader, and an abolitionist.

He is a lawyer, and has been known in public life as a member of the House of Representatives.

It is at present supposed that he will not attempt to carry out his own notions and those of his party against the South, but rather take advantage of his Northern position as a means of effecting some compromise.

Some Members of the present Cabinet will certainly have<sup>1</sup> office, probably all.

Mr. Webster is spoken of as Mr. Clayton's successor.

I have the honour, etc.,

H. L. BULWER.

<sup>1</sup> This word is "leave" in the original text, and one would think "leave" to be the word intended by the author of the letter, but the handwriting in which "h" has been written over "le" is, Mr. Ettinger says, clearly that of Bulwer.

## REVIEWS OF BOOKS

### GENERAL BOOKS AND BOOKS OF ANCIENT HISTORY

*A Short History of Civilization.* By LYNN THORNDIKE, Ph.D., Professor of History in Columbia University. (New York: F. S. Crofts and Company. 1926. Pp. xiv, 619. \$5.00.)

BEGINNING with an explanation of the formation of the geological strata and the evolution of life on our planet, this book traces the shifts and changes of civilization from the stone age to our own time. It is well proportioned. There are forty-two chapters. One is introductory; two are devoted to prehistoric and primitive times; five to the civilizations of the Near East; ten to Greece and Rome, the spread of early Christianity, and the barbarian invasions; four to the civilizations of the Far East; two to the Byzantine and Saracenic civilizations; six to medieval Europe; seven to the Renaissance, Reformation, and Age of Reason; and five to the development of our present civilization.

In a book dealing with the entire history of man's progress there are, naturally, some periods treated with better knowledge and understanding than others; but even the most alert reader will fail to find a really weak chapter, while the greater number of the chapters are admirable summaries of the periods with which they deal. In two or three instances, it seems, a better arrangement might have been made. Why, for instance, should not the Revival of Town Life come after the Crusades? But, aside from the necessary exceptions, the chronological sequence of the story is generally maintained.

There are some absent faces. Where is the Pseudo-Dionysius, through whose writings mysticism flowed into medieval life? Where is Scotus Erigena, in whom that influence, as well as an original vision of life, is apparent? Averroës is mentioned, but no indication of his thought, widespread, lasting, dissolving, is given. Of the real reformers of the sixteenth century few are named. Not a sentence is devoted to either of the two Socini, to Sebastian Franck, or even to Sebastian Castellio, who remains the greatest champion of religious tolerance, and who by every conception and canon of culture is surely entitled to an honorable place in such a book as this. Yet, despite these omissions, a correct estimate is given of the part played in the history of civilization by the Protestant Revolution. And for this we ought to be deeply grateful. In the books usually recommended to undergraduate students and the general public few other movements are so generally treated with partiality and misunderstanding to the detriment of genuinely liberal and progressive thought.

There are also a few slips; only a very inconsequential battleship could be built for five million dollars. Some aspects of civilization are dealt

with only in part. The story of philosophy is left incomplete. Bergson, Croce, James, Santayana, and others are missing. The history of sculpture ends with Michelangelo; no mention is made of Rodin. Painting fares better, though we look in vain for Sargent.

In a book with so wide a range as this there are, quite naturally, some judgments with which not everyone will agree. We are told that "Renaissance architecture and Protestantism combined have sounded the knell of ecclesiastical art, if not of art in general". The bell may have tolled, but the sound seems never to have reached the ears of any of the great artists of the subsequent centuries. Did Mozart, or Beethoven, or Chopin, or Keats, or Shelley, or Rodin pause to hear it? And is it even true, as the sentence implies, that Renaissance architecture is anti-spiritual in character? Who can say so after seeing such a church as that of Santa Maria della Consolazione at Todi? The opinion seems to be an echo of a certain leading architect, some of whose dicta about medieval and modern life and art are unmitigated nonsense.

These are only minor flaws. The book is highly successful, being by far the best of its kind, and will prove a great boon to thoughtful teachers. What is most worth while in every period of man's cultural development is here seized upon and revealed. Great movements are lucidly explained; there are admirable touches of portraiture; often there is shrewd reflection; always there is the courage of the author's convictions; and the entire book is made attractive by capable literary craftsmanship.

EDWARD MASLIN HULME.

*An Inquiry into the Causes of the Growth and Decay of Civilisation.*

By THOMAS LLOYD. (London: *The Statist*. 1926. Pp. xiv, 859. 15 s.)

THIS bulky volume published after the death of its author, the late editor of the *London Statist*, contains three parts, each of which would of itself make a respectable book. They are: I., "The Origin of Man and of Civilisation" (pp. 1-103), II., "State Economics" (pp. 104-525), and III., "The Proofs of History" (pp. 525-859). Part I. traces the gradual development of civilization from pre-palaeolithic times to the fall of the Roman Empire, with a slight reference to the later period, and a whole chapter devoted to attacking an antiquated theory of an "Aryan" race. Part II. covers the entire field of public economy, discussing the nature of wealth, capital, banking, price, value, and the like. The illustrations in this part are drawn largely from English history, and the author never omits an opportunity to criticize the British economists of the last century, to attack the English land system, to point out weaknesses in the British banking organization, and to censure the government's neglect of expert advice in dealing with problems that affect the nation's prosperity. Part III. restates a good deal of the content of part I. and attempts to explain the causes of the decline of civilization among the peoples of the Mediterranean world.



Briefly, the author's theory of the rise and decay of civilization seems to be as follows. Progress and decay are due to human agency; they are not matters of soil, climate, or other environmental conditions, if we except geological catastrophes. The chief factor in the growth of civilization is invention, and it is only by means of fresh inventions that it can be maintained. Civilization arose in the Nile Valley and in Mesopotamia through the energy and inventiveness of the brown or brunette race, the oldest known inhabitants of both regions. From these two centres civilization spread over Western Asia, probably to Eastern Asia, and around the Mediterranean. Civilization declined in its original home as a result of misgovernment, war, and slavery. This decline paved the way for the Persian conquest, the rise of Greece, the Macedonian conquest, and the Roman world-empire. None of these later peoples succeeded in recovering the old-time prosperity of Egypt and Babylonia. Rome was the great destructive agency which brought ancient civilization to ruin. A powerful disintegrating factor, which affected all the states of antiquity, was the abandonment of a social order based on the primitive "clan" and the failure to find a satisfactory substitute. The modern world has not attained in all respects the cultural level of Pharaonic Egypt, nor has it found an adequate substitute for the clan system. For the future the only hope lies in education and democratic government.

The student of ancient history will find as much, if not more, to criticize as to commend in the writer's interpretation of ancient times. His distinction between *clan* and *household* is not very clear. He speaks of absolute community of property within the clan, and the exercise of the *patria potestas* by the head of the clan. It is fairly safe to say that a clan system of this sort, if it ever existed, had broken down among all peoples of antiquity before they attained a civilized state, and that no real civilization ever rested upon such a basis. The author's acceptance of Petrie's Egyptian chronology gives him a faulty perspective in his whole view of ancient history. One's confidence in his deductions is shaken by the argument that the duration of an independent Egyptian culture compared with the much briefer periods of Persian, Greek, and Roman rule in Egypt proves the immense intellectual superiority of the brown over the "Aryan" race, as well as by the statement that, since Latin and Celtic have a certain number of roots or words in common, the one language *must be an offshoot of the other*, and the Romans must be a Celtic tribe. That the Scythians were also Celts, that the name Scythian is the same as Scot, that the Greeks were Celts who came into the Aegean by way of Cyprus from Syria, that Alexander the Great's destruction of Tyre brought economic ruin to Greece, and that Augustus "was utterly bereft of all statesmanship" are views stated with great positiveness. The book is not free from errors of fact, such as that it was Cyrus the Great of Persia, who, in alliance with Babylon, overthrew the Assyrian empire about 600 B. C. There is no bibliography or foot-note references to other authors, but the neglect of the economic developments of the Hellenistic Age and the great underestimate of the prosperity of the

Roman Empire in the early Christian centuries seem to indicate unfamiliarity with the results of much recent research. The author's style is unattractive, and countless repetitions have made the work much longer than is necessary. There is no index.

A. E. R. BOAK.

*A Short History of Marriage.* By EDWARD WESTERMARCK, Ph.D., LL.D., Martin White Professor of Sociology in the University of London, Professor of Philosophy in the Academy of Åbo. (London and New York: Macmillan Company. 1926. Pp. xiii, 327. 10 s. 6 d.)

FOR students whose interests are not specialized enough to warrant mastery of Dr. Westermarck's *History of Human Marriage* the present concise treatise will prove a boon. It can hardly be said to make any new contribution to social science, but it presents in compact yet readable form the essential conclusions of a foremost authority in the field. The professional historian will perchance look askance at the author's proneness to presumption in the place of certainty, as for instance in his reliance on such expressions as, "I suppose", "Probably", "May be", "I can not but think", "It may be presumed", but such caution is not out of place in so conjectural a field as that of historical sociology, to which this book manifestly belongs rather than to the field of history in the departmental sense.

It is obvious, nevertheless, that Dr. Westermarck is wedded to a very consistent and firm opinionativeness that enables him to wrest assurance on many points from evidence that means quite the contrary to other keen scholars. An easy illustration of this tendency is his credulity as to instinct. Thus the "aversion to incest may be independent of both experience and education", even though on another page he inadvertently concedes that the instinctive explanation is gratuitous; for he quotes Sir Henry Maine as remarking: "The common residence of so many persons of both sexes in the same household may be said to be only possible through their belief that any union of kinsmen and kinswomen would be incestuous." Thus repugnance to incest might easily be a social tradition based on experience with the harm of allowing the general kinship bond to be unduly warped by private ties between individuals in the domestic group. It would seem that the author has some tendency to rationalize in substantiation of preconceived dogma, when it would be more in order to retain an attitude of inquiry.

The book is somewhat unsatisfactory too in respect to profundity of interpretation of marriage phenomena. There is a certain naïveté at points, as when customs related to the desire to marry off older children first are said to be "ultimately based on the idea that men and women should marry as soon as they arrive at the proper age, and that it is unnatural for an elder brother or sister to remain unmarried when a younger one becomes marriageable". As if a usage could be "ultimately based"

on ideas that people have about it! Surely a sociologist, with his insight into the social correlation of thought, ought to be able to find a deeper foundation for custom than in opinion.

One might question also the use of a topical arrangement whereby successive chapters deal with the origin of marriage, the frequency of marriage and the marriage age, endogamy, exogamy, marriage by capture, consent as a condition of marriage, marriage by consideration and by exchange of presents, marriage rites, monogamy and polygyny, polyandry and group marriage, the duration of marriage, etc., instead of undertaking to present some sort of chronological picture of the evolution of marriage. It would of course be impossible to set up any rigidly progressive scheme, but the book as it is is hardly a history of marriage even though it contains representative historical material. The title might appropriately be altered to "Marriage as a Social Institution", as the author seems himself to recognize in the preface.

On the whole the book is hardly one that could serve as a gospel for an inexperienced reader. On the other hand, it is a storehouse of valuable material for one that can discriminate and venture upon alternative or supplementary interpretations.

ARTHUR W. CALHOUN.

*La Magic dans l'Égypte Antique de l'Ancien Empire jusqu'à l'Époque Copte.* Par FRANÇOIS LEXA, Ph.D., Professeur à l'Université Charles de Prague. Three volumes. (Paris: Geuthner. 1926. Pp. 220, 235, and 71 plates. 200 fr.)

PROFESSOR LEXA, in gathering together and sifting the so-called magic texts of Egypt, has made a notable contribution to scholarship and has given to us, in easily readable form, a very valuable working instrument. To the student of comparative religion, to all those whose interest or whose work is linked in any degree with Egyptian thought and philosophy, and to the general reader who would know something of Egypt beyond its material relics, Professor Lexa has done a real service. The font is clear and the matter concisely laid out; the plates are very finished examples of the printer's art. Volume I. gives the general discussion; volume II. contains the texts; volume III. is the atlas.

Music is a universal heritage and we do not need to belong to the Catholic Church to appreciate Gregorian measures. When the problem involves the written word, or what corresponds to the written word in countries like Egypt, we are severely handicapped by language, and, although translation may indeed be but pouring honey from one jar to another, the flavor of the honey is a difficult thing to retain. Professor Lexa has had in mind the more general reader in giving freedom of translation, profuse illustrations, and a full index. It would be impossible, in the scope of these volumes, to work up an adequate background of Egyptian life, customs, and modes of thought to enable the reader to understand thoroughly the meaning and significance of these texts. Pro-

fessor Lexa has not attempted this task, though he has thrown in here and there an explanatory paragraph and ventured an occasional suggestion which is always helpful but, as such, is of course oftentimes open to question. The work is rather an encyclopaedia of Egyptian "magic" texts, properly classified and indexed.

I hesitate to repeat the word "magic", so degraded has it become in modern thought. The ancient Egyptians were a deeply devotional people and these texts are not to be thought of merely as sorcerers' charms and incantations. Many are prayers more or less formal: some are moving supplications direct from an overwrought spirit; others must be thought of as blessings accompanied by medicaments for the relief of sufferings. Naturally there are curses also, imprecations, exorcisms, attempts at coercion even of the gods. Magic in short is not a collection of rites and feats but rather of devotional exercises. It is impossible to read this work carefully without recalling well-known scenes from the Scriptures; Jacob wrestling with the Angel at Jabbok for a blessing and his name (Genesis xxii.); Jehovah's command to Ezekiel to prophesy against Egypt and "the dragon that lieth in the midst of his waters" (Ezekiel xxix.); the beautiful story of Elisha restoring to life the Shunammite's son (II Kings iv.). Yet Professor Lexa does not allow himself to be drawn into comparisons such as these.

Probably the general student would profit by having at his elbow, when he reads this work, the *Evolution of the Dragon* (G. Elliot Smith, University of Manchester Press, 1919). He would then realize more fully and clearly the significance of many of the medicaments, really drawn from avatars of the gods, especially from those of the Great Mother herself. Only rarely has the author deemed it wise to touch upon such explanations. In short the general reader will find here all he could possibly want of the devotional liturgy of Egypt; but for the setting he must have access to other sources.

The spirit of the "magician" can be summed up in the author's own words (I. 52): "The god of man is very like man himself. So the prudent magician promises nothing and threatens not at all, but acts in the same manner as the inferior spirits, conscious of their weakness; he wishes all possible good to his benefactor and curses his enemy."

*Das Alexanderreich auf Prosopographischer Grundlage.* Von HELMUT BERVE. Two volumes. (Munich: C. H. Beck. 1926. Pp. xvi, 357; vii, 446. 45 M.)

OF the two main parts, which correspond to the two volumes, the second is the Prosopographia proper, which in turn comprises two main divisions: abschnitt I.: *Personen welche mit Alexander nachweislich in Berührung gekommen sind*, containing 833 names; abschnitt II.: *Personen welche nachweislich mit Unrecht in eine Persönliche Beziehung zu Alexander gesetzt worden sind*, containing 82 names, both parts alphabetized according to Greek. Note the care with which the heading of the

second division is phrased. In this division are to be found persons ranging through all the various degrees from fiction to reality: fictions like Divinopater, no. 23; realities like Mithradates, no. 54, and Nectanebos, no. 56, the latter being Alexander's reputed father according to the Alexander Romance. In several instances the classification between the two divisions was difficult, but the reviewer is in agreement with Berve against Tarn that Heracles (I. 353), Alexander's reputed son by Barsine, was a reality; also that Jaddous (I. 381), Jewish high priest, actually met Alexander somewhat as related by Josephus, *Ant.*, XI. 8, 5. It was of course inevitable that the biographies of several important persons, as e.g. of Demosthenes, should be presented in truncated form. The Prosopographia is especially valuable in differentiating between persons bearing the same name, seven Ptolemies for instance, as well as in determining which is the superior tradition where in our sources the same act is charged to different persons. Thus the niece of Attalus who became Philip's fifth wife is made out to be Cleopatra and not Euridice. Similar cases are Anaxarchus (Arrian, *Anab.*, IV. 10, 5 ff.) as against Cleon and Agis (Curtius, VIII. 5, 8) mentioned as Callisthenes's opponents in the matter of the *proskynesis*. Berve has not, however, brought out with sufficient clearness whether it was Choerilus of Assos or Anaximenes who spoke up for the privilege to become Alexander's Homer. At the end of this volume are given the stemmata of the leading families, such as the royal houses of Macedon, of Epirus, and the later Achaemenids.

The minute examination to which Berve has subjected the persons of the Prosopographia and his general knowledge of the subject concerned has enabled him to supplement our knowledge of Alexander's empire in many ways, and in order to show the extent of these additions, he has reared ostensibly on the prosopographic foundation of volume II. the edifice of imperial institutions of volume I., an edifice which by the way is often constructed beyond the lines of the prosopographic base. In this volume the three main topics are the court, the army, and the imperial administration. We are shocked by the hypothesis that Alexander loved women less because through the force of circumstances he loved boys the more. Berve's treatment of the topic of religion, and his distinction between *Gottessohnschaft* and *Gottkönigtum* and the steps by which the former developed into the latter is to be commended.

Berve is master of the ancient, and of most of the modern literature on his subject. There are not a few contributions made by American scholars that he fails to mention. For instance, to the investigations of E. T. Newell on Alexander's coinage there should be added to the works mentioned at I. 318, n. 1, the following: Alexander Hoards, *Kyparissia* (1921), *Demanhur* (1923), *Andritsaena* (1924), also *Tyrus Rediviva* (1923). The bibliography near the beginning of volume I. should have been made more extensive, so as to include most, if not all, of the works mentioned in the text.

It is unfortunate that this work, which is one of the most valuable, and certainly the most informative, on the subject of Alexander, is marred

by some unnecessary defects. The author is prone to be uncharitable and at times arrogant in his tone toward scholars who disagree with him. The work should have been more carefully seen through the press, and such misprints avoided as Eike (for Eicke), Noeldecke (Noeldeke), Eislen (Eiselen), Derup (Drerup); and Ausfeld has been supplied with a middle initial he never had. The alphabetizing of the index (I. 354) is faulty, and volume I., page 93, note 2, shows unverified references.

ANDREW RUNNI ANDERSON.

*Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire.* By M. ROSTVOTZEFF, D.Litt., Professor of Ancient History in Yale University. (Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1926. Pp. xxv, 695. 45 s.)

THIS work, by a scholar whose skilled interpretations of many sides of ancient civilization have long since put us in his debt, is the first attempt to fill a serious gap in our knowledge, for, with a few notable exceptions, students of classical antiquity have shrunk from the difficult task of interpreting the social and economic life of the Greeks and the Romans. The reasons are not far to seek. The ancients themselves did not ask Clio the same questions that we put to her, but they regarded social and economic questions, so far as they considered them at all, as a part of political history. Indeed it is only in recent years that we have begun to bemoan the failure of the ancient writers to deal with those topics that modern economics and social study have brought to the front. Again, the new matter which the past half-century has made available through exploration and excavation—papyri, inscriptions, material remains, etc.—is after all sporadic and scanty, in spite of its apparent mass when looked at as a whole. History must remain a series of guesses; and the best historian is he who, highly endowed by nature and trained in a rigorous discipline, develops his hypotheses with full knowledge of his data, of course, but also with a clear sense of their paucity and incompleteness. All this our author knows full well, and, if he is led too far at times by his desire to find possible answers to his questions, he does not fall into dogmatism. He more often raises a query than indulges in an *ipse dixit*.

Rostvotzeff begins his work with a sketch of the late Republic and those causes that led to the establishment of the Empire under Augustus. According to him, at this time Italy became the richest country of the ancient world, while the Hellenistic East suffered gradual and steady economic decay. Rome's victories over Carthage and the Eastern states brought enormous wealth, both in land and fluid capital, to the Roman state and to its aristocracy. The *ager Romanus* could not be adequately filled with Roman and Latin citizens on small holdings; hence arose great estates, worked by the cheap slave labor that conquest provided. A new class of successful business men—numerous and influential—arose between the aristocracy and the lowest class of citizens; and before the end of the second century B. C. a new equestrian order had been recognized in the



state. Although this class was often at variance with the nobility, the interests of the two were the same or similar at many points, for both won their wealth largely by exploiting the state's resources, and by means of the wealth so gained acquired their political supremacy. Their leadership was broken, however, when the Italian bourgeoisie and the proletariat were allied against them by politicians and military leaders; and the Republic passed into the Empire under the astute direction of Augustus, whose policy was to maintain a compromise between the several classes, each being given its own sphere of activity with fairly sharp lines of demarcation drawn between the groups. Under the Pax Romana internal discord largely disappeared, and prosperity was restored; so that for a brief time it seemed as if the age of Saturn had returned.

The successors of Augustus, down to the Flavian dynasty, by terrorism and oppression destroyed the hopes and influence of the former ruling classes, wishing to make the bourgeoisie in the cities throughout the Empire the foundation of the state. Like Augustus they fostered urban communities, both East and West, for in them society was more civilized and stable than in the country, and therefore a better buttress for the principate than the peasants on the land could be; the free classes in these urban centres enjoyed a more favorable status than the rural population, they acquired wealth, and with it conservative tendencies that led them to support the imperial régime. But the emperors depended directly on the favor of the pretorians. The civil war of the year 69-70 A. D. Rostovtzeff regards as "a protest of the provincial armies and of the population of the Empire in general against the degenerate military tyranny of the successors of Augustus". Vespasian valiantly attempted to restore the Augustan form of the principate; but his brutal son Domitian chose to play the autocrat once more. With Nerva and Trajan, however, began a century of internal peace during which the imperial power and the educated city bourgeoisie were in accord and the army was quiet. The principate corresponded fairly closely to the Stoic *βασιλεία* which was far removed from the earlier tyranny. The emperor was at once the first citizen and the first servant of the state. The new senatorial aristocracy was largely made up of men of provincial origin whose ability and service had won them their influence and position.

Yet a fatal antagonism arose between the city bourgeoisie, the backbone of the Empire, and the masses in the cities and the country. The conflict was stayed for a time by the efforts of the emperors, but after the Severi civil and social war broke out which was to degenerate into political anarchy. Rostovtzeff believes that this struggle was due to the rise of the lower classes, now represented by the army and supported by the emperors. The result was the destruction of the higher classes and the bourgeoisie, and the development of that Oriental monarchy which was the final form of the imperial rule.

Civilization and capital naturally centred in the urban communities of the Empire, as they have always done; but by the second century the well-to-do middle class had lost the initiative that earlier had developed

agriculture, industry, and trade throughout the Empire. Its ambition was to secure a certain income by safe investments without engaging in the active struggle of competition; therefore capital was largely invested in land which was to be worked by tenants and slaves. The bourgeoisie, in consequence, obstinately refused to admit the lower classes in the country or city to their social order, and in the end proved unequal to support the state.

Rostovtzeff's interpretation of the rôle played by the army in the three centuries under review is an interesting and, in some respects, a novel one. Under Augustus and his immediate successors the legions were made up of Roman citizens recruited largely in Italy; Vespasian apparently began the policy of drawing both legionary and auxiliary troops from the provinces, chiefly from the urban communities. The former were always citizens; the latter received citizenship on completion of service. By the time of the Antonines the provinces furnished almost all the soldiers, save the pretorians, while the higher officers were drawn from the senatorial and equestrian orders and the lower were Roman citizens from Italy or the Romanized western provinces. But apparently both the legionary and the auxiliary soldiers were mostly peasants from the country; the city-bred were disinclined to serve. Moreover, the legions were now filled by conscription, which in a crisis like that under Marcus Aurelius brought into the service a sorry lot of slaves and rascals. By the end of the second century the Roman army was no longer representative of the civilized urban population and no longer understood or sympathized with the bourgeoisie. In the third century this army, according to Rostovtzeff, represented "those large masses of the population that had no share in the brilliant civilized life of the Empire". The soldiers, with the burdened peasants and city proletariat from which they sprang, began to hold feelings of blind envy and hatred toward the more privileged classes—feelings which led to a civil war that destroyed the prestige and power of the higher classes, ruined the cities, and through anarchy and strife prepared the way for the reorganization of the government into an Oriental despotism by Diocletian and Constantine. The state was now no longer based on the civilized orders in the cities, but on the peasants and the country. Society became fixed in hereditary castes, each with its own privileges or burdens, or both. The only equality was that all were slaves of the emperor.

Most readers will eagerly turn to the latter half of the last chapter to see what solution our author will give to the persistent question as to what caused the fall of the Roman Empire. Rostovtzeff thus formulates the problem: "Why was the city civilization of Greece and Italy unable to assimilate the masses, why did it remain a civilization of the élite, why was it incapable of creating conditions which should secure for the ancient world a continuous uninterrupted movement along the same path which our modern world is traversing again?"

In answer he reviews the more important explanations and with justice rejects them in considerable measure. Political solutions, like those

offered by Beloch, Kornemann, the erratic Ferrero, and the sober democratic Heitland, are alike partial and defective. Still more worthy of rejection are the economic explanations which "reveal, not the cause of the decline of the ancient world, but merely one of its aspects". Insufficient, also, is the biological explanation with its theories of degeneracy, race-suicide, and destruction by the admixture of "inferior races". And, finally, Rostovtzeff rejects the view that Christianity was responsible for the decay of ancient civilization, for Christianity, as he wisely says, "is but one side of the general change in the mentality of the ancient world, and so is no explanation". And he gives us no formula of his own.

But he does close with a warning and a question which can bring little satisfaction to those who believe that democracy is the most civilized as well as the best form of society. "The evolution of the ancient world has a lesson and a warning for us. Our civilization will not last unless it be a civilization not of one class, but of the masses. The Oriental civilizations were more stable and lasting than the Greco-Roman, because, being chiefly based on religion, they were nearer to the masses. Another lesson is that violent attempts at levelling have never helped to uplift the masses. They have destroyed the upper classes, and resulted in accelerating the process of barbarization. But the ultimate problem remains like a ghost, ever present and unladen: Is it possible to extend a higher civilization to the lower classes without debasing its standard and diluting its quality to the vanishing point? Is not every civilization bound to decay as soon as it begins to penetrate the masses?"

This book is a contribution of the greatest importance to the study of the Roman Empire. Nothing has appeared for many years that can be properly named beside it. Naturally it would be easy to point out statements that will provoke emphatic dissent or at least doubt. Rostovtzeff's history and interpretations of the social changes in the armies, for example, are less convincing than his treatment of the economic changes under the Empire. But this is no place to pursue this vein; each must read for himself.

Sixty plates with explanatory text illustrate the work; but not the least valuable part of the book is the 140 pages of notes which follow and document the text. Here the author's extraordinary command of his material is clearly shown. These notes will long be a valuable treasure-house to which those who wish to differ with their author will be glad to resort.

CLIFFORD H. MOORE.

#### BOOKS OF MEDIEVAL AND MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

*The Monastery of Epiphanius at Thebes.* Part I. *Archaeological Material*, by H. E. WINLOCK; *Literary Material*, by W. E. CRUM. Part II. *Coptic Ostraca and Papyri*, by W. E. CRUM; *Greek Ostraca and Papyri*, by HUGH G. EVELYN WHITE. [Publications of the Egyptian Expedition, vols. III., IV.] (New York: Metropolitan Museum. 1926. Pp. xxvi, 276; xvi, 386, and 103 plates. Paper, \$24.00; boards, \$30.00.)

*The Monasteries of the Wadi 'n Natrûn. Part I. New Coptic Texts from the Monastery of Saint Macarius.* Edited with an introduction by HUGH G. EVELYN WHITE. [Publications of the Egyptian Expedition, vol. V.] (New York: Metropolitan Museum, 1926. Pp. xlviii, 299, and 29 plates. Paper, \$12.00; boards, \$15.00.)

I. SOME fifteen years since, the Egyptian Expedition of the Metropolitan Museum of Art was entrusted with the clearing of the site of the tomb of Daga (XIth Dynasty), at Sheikh Abd el-Kurneh, in the Theban Necropolis. This tomb was known to have been used in Christian times by Coptic ascetes as a dwelling and worshipping place and, judging from what had been discovered, the digging of the site proper and its immediate vicinity promised a fair harvest of archaeological and literary material. In fact the tomb and its fore-court turned out to be the monastery of a certain Epiphanius, of whom we knew but little and were eager to know more. The two volumes before us contain in a highly creditable form the presentation of the rich material gathered in the course of the two campaigns (1912 and 1914) in which the work was practically completed.

Part I. is divided between Mr. H. E. Winlock and Mr. W. E. Crum. In chapters I.-IV. the former treats of the topography of Western Thebes in the sixth and seventh centuries A. D., of the trades and occupations at the monastery, etc., with a concluding section on the technical and material innovations in Egyptian life during Roman times. All of which is most profusely illustrated by means of 51 figures in the text and 31 plates (excellent maps and plans and collotype plates). In chapters IV.-X. Mr. Crum deals with the literary material. These chapters might well be termed a *summa* of all that can be known of Christian topography, history, and hagiography as well as Coptic lexicography, phonetics, and grammar for the region of Jeme and its neighborhood, a stretch of about a hundred miles from north to south with Jeme in the middle. Not an ostrakon whole or fragmentary, not a bit of papyrus, not a graffito in an ever so inexperienced hand is without significance for Mr. Crum. Chapter IX. on Epiphanius and Pesunthius will prove of unusual interest to historians.

Part II. contains the texts (pp. 1-152), both Coptic, of course by far the more numerous, by Mr. Crum, and Greek by Mr. Evelyn White, of all the ostraca, papyri, graffiti, discovered by the explorers, and their translation (pp. 155-348). Some texts, because linguistically uninteresting, appear in translation only. Each document is carefully edited and commented upon as to its exact reading and import, not a single letter against which the student might stumble being left without an explanatory note. Three appendixes reproduce, both in text and translation, important documents referring to the monastery of Epiphanius, but discovered and published prior to the American expedition. Eight pages of facsimiles of graffiti and seventeen plates, mostly chosen on palaeographical grounds, complete the volume proper.

Both parts are furnished with copious indexes. We regret only that in part I. Mr. Crum has not thought it necessary to give the list of abbreviations of his references.

II. This is the first of a series of three posthumous volumes containing the results of the archaeological investigations on the architecture and history of the monasteries of the Wadi 'n Natroun, the Mount of Nitria and the Scetis of the patristic literature, carried out in 1920-1921, by the late Hugh G. Evelyn White, in behalf of the Egyptian Expedition of the Metropolitan Museum of Art of New York.

This volume, in stateliness of appearance and perfection of typographical execution, exactly matches the two volumes we have just reviewed. Its bulk consists of some 290 leaves or fragments of Coptic leaves, mostly parchment of the ninth or tenth century, retrieved by the author from the monastery of St. Macarius in the desert of Scetis, and here edited and translated by himself. Their contents run through the whole gamut of monastic literature from the Bible to lexicography. They have been arranged according to matter into 29 groups, each group being introduced with a note in which every manuscript represented in the group is described, every fragment analyzed and fully illustrated as to contents, with abundant references to the existing Coptic literature. The reading and editing of those texts was a long and tedious task owing to the deplorable condition of the originals, the refuse of the library, the bulk of which, as every one knows, was acquired in 1715 by the elder Assemani for the Vatican Library; and also because the originals, the property of the Coptic Museum at Old Cairo, were not allowed to remain in his hands long enough for Mr. Evelyn White to revise his copies as carefully as he would have wished. Despite those handicaps, and the fact that the author was an archaeologist and a Hellenist by training rather than a Coptic scholar, the result of his labors is highly gratifying especially when we consider that he did not live to see his book through the press.

The doubtful character of several of his readings and the lack of experience in dealing with Coptic texts, as evidenced by some of his attempts at filling lacunae, are more than compensated by the truly superior character of the introductory notes. Another redeeming feature, if indeed such be needed, will be found in the introduction, "The Library at the Monastery of St. Macarius and New MS. Fragments", a truly remarkable piece of constructive scholarship. It can not fail to interest the general reader, and as much may be said of appendix II., The Libraries of the Lesser Monasteries of Scetis, which supplements it.

The curious fragments in Arabic language and Coptic script (33 leaves, paper, thirteenth and fourteenth centuries) so ably edited, transcribed, translated, and commented upon in appendix I., by Dr. G. P. G. Sobhy of Cairo, will delight particularly those interested in the history of the pronunciation of Arabic.

The 27 collotype plates, most of them showing two specimens each, leave nothing to be desired.

The able editor, Mr. Albert M. Lythgoe of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, as well as the authors, principally Messrs. H. E. Winlock and W. E. Crum, are to be most sincerely congratulated, and a tribute of thanks is due to Mr. Edward S. Harkness who generously sustained the cost of the edition.

H. HYVERNAT.

*Economic History of Europe to the End of the Middle Ages.* By MELVIN M. KNIGHT, Ph.D., Assistant Professor of History in Columbia University. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1926. Pp. x, 260. \$3.00.)

THERE is a certain bravery in tilting against twenty-five centuries in 250 pages, and the feat has not been hitherto attempted in English. Behind these pages, however, lies much thoughtful reading (*teste* the bibliographies), and the presentation, though at times like a series of notes, is compact and to the point. The style, suffering from compression, is not easy. The author is naturally under no obligation to present new information. Only in a note does he once protest that, to the writer's knowledge, "virgates ranged all the way from 12 to over 60 acres". And even this is not quite new. His task is to condense, arrange, and emphasize.

One-third of the book is devoted to the ancient world, the remainder to the medieval. Its thesis, in general, is that the civilization of the former was transmitted to the latter by the Italian cities of the Middle Ages. These towns, especially Venice, kept in touch with Constantinople, which until the twelfth century maintained in a measure the economic life of antiquity. The Saracens played a similar rôle, transmitting to Spain an older civilization (the Persian and Indian elements in which are not noted). In contrast with the superior economic life of the Mediterranean basin, the area to the north of it lapsed into an agrarian barbarism. Eventually a thin stream of Italian trade, papal taxation (apparently antedated), and the "sweet memory of Roman centralization impelled northern rulers to introduce money and trade as rapidly as possible".

The point of view dictates the order of chapters. On leaving the Roman and Byzantine world we follow the achievements of Italian commerce, with a glance at Genoese finance and Florentine industry, return to the gloom of the feudal and manorial North, and end with a chapter on the gild and craft system of the North, with a glance this time at northern commerce. The editor of the series reflects that students of economics are coming to find that their important problems have to do with business administration which in turn is based upon commerce with its markets, money, and credit. Commerce, therefore, is the "particular 'thread of continuity' around which [this] well-proportioned account is organized". Despite Professor Knight's editor, however, and his own apparent acceptance of modernist principles, less than one-fourth of his medieval pages describe commerce. What matters rather more is that they do



not describe it always very accurately. They do not, for example, make clear that the Byzantine connection, maintained until the eighth century, was then pretty much severed by the Saracen conquest of the great sea, and had to be recovered in the eleventh century; and that, though this recovery owed a great deal to the Italian cities, it owed quite as much to the emotional and economic revival of Northern Europe. While the Flemish House and the Hanseatic League are briefly described, the reader does not get the impression that they, along with English merchants, were as significant for the new life of the Middle Age as were the Italian cities, and that this commerce revolved round a Constantinople in the north, the active, industrial county of Flanders.

It is the author's construction of his book on the framework of geography rather than temporal sequence which involves these consequences. Indeed, comparative disregard of the contrast between century and century or between significant groups of centuries is the feature of it most open to criticism. In this regard the treatment suffers from comparison with two admirable works which appeared just after it was completed. Professor Rostovtzeff's *Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire*, and Professor Pirenne's *Medieval Cities*, the one comprehensive, the other summary, evince their greatest skill in contrasting one century with another, showing advance or decline, and the causes thereof. If Professor Knight could have modelled his treatment on these two books he would have been more informing, lucid, and progressive.

Sometimes disregard of correct temporal juxtaposition not only confuses but misleads. One illustration must suffice. Beside the Flemish House, consolidated in the twelfth century to control trade with England, says Professor Knight, the English Staplers appeared in 1267, exporting wool and, a little later, meat, dairy products, leather, tin, and lead. For a time the two "worked together, the English controlling staple exports, the Flemings looking after imports". After 1350 the latter disappeared and in 1354 the former were "definitely organized to take care of the functions of both". With changing times, as the manufacture of English woollens increased, the Staple "sank to insignificance in the seventeenth century, the Staplers being replaced by the Merchant Adventurers", who "unlike the Staplers were all Englishmen". About the Merchant Adventurers we learn nothing further except that "in the fifteenth century the [Hanseatic] League was exporting some forty times as much English cloth as was sent out in English ships". Many of these statements are misleading. The Flemish Hanse were not active traders after the close of the thirteenth century. The German Hanse, the Italians, and the English non-Staplers shared with the Staplers in English trade from 1300 on. All Staplers were Englishmen. The Staple, as such, soon exported no commodities save wool and hides. Other English merchants, generally known as Merchant Adventurers, were from at least the early fourteenth century active exporters and importers. In the fifteenth century they shipped much more English cloth than did the Hanseatics, using English, Hanseatic, and Dutch ships. Though Professor Knight mentions the

Hanseatics as financing Edward III., he does not note that English merchants financed him still more.

In what concerns industry it would seem that the "modern student" might be interested in the rise of capitalistic undertakings. But the remarkable development of the Della Lana in Florence is contracted to a brief paragraph. (The Medici, by the way, had extensive industrial as well as banking interests.) While the Flemish emergence from the craft system is treated more generously, the English development of large industry in woollens from the fourteenth century is not noted.

The fourth of the book devoted to feudalism and the manorial system follows the rather hackneyed outlines of the English manor, with, however, brief descriptions of corresponding Continental phenomena. Some statements I do not understand, *e.g.*, this on page 167, "The example of their better methods [those on manors of Church and State] was all the more powerful because they stood ready to absorb private rights, title, and authority in cases where notorious failure to live up to their standards of prosperity and contentment paved the way". Was forfeiture ever pronounced on these grounds?

It is easy to find fault with a text of this type, but it might be difficult to write a better one. One would have to call upon, say, Professor Pirenne or Sir William Ashley.

H. L. GRAY.

*History of England.* By GEORGE MACAULAY TREVELYAN. (London and New York: Longmans, Green, and Company. 1926. Pp. xx, 723. 12 s. 6 d.)

Nor since the appearance of Green's *Short History* has so fresh, vigorous, and interesting an outline history of England been given to the public. Not very different in length from its predecessor, nor indeed from several others which have appeared in recent years, it differs from Green in reflecting a much more advanced scholarship and from most later works in being less of a text-book, more of an essay. For the uses of a text-book we can not prophesy it much success. Like the *Short History* it is too allusive, too literary in form, it takes too much for granted to serve very well for class-room use—at least for college students as we know them. Its merits are of a different kind.

Distinction of treatment is perhaps the most marked characteristic of the work. Mr. Trevelyan has a certain largeness of view; he evidently considers the history of England as a single whole, its early events looked upon as precursors of known later occurrences and conditions, its later periods constantly reminiscent of early times. His divisions are for convenience of treatment only, not to accentuate the succession of events nor to narrate detached episodes. Whether this results from the origin of the work in a series of lectures, the Lowell Lectures, given in Boston in 1924, or merely from Mr. Trevelyan's fullness of knowledge of his subject, there results from it an admirably clear, however brief, de-

scription of institutions and movements. The early boroughs, the common law, Parliament, the native language and literature, Tudor economic conditions, the industrial revolution, and many such general elements of English history are described in their origin and full maturity with skill, clarity, and interest. Personalities and individual occurrences, on the contrary, are often objects of allusion or reference rather than of direct statement or narrative. This "touch and go" process is unavoidable even with Mr. Trevelyan's training and skill; there have been too many events of significance in two thousand years of English history to give them more than passing mention, if the conditions that surrounded them are to be made clear. Moreover it is a good philosophy of history to treat the general as of more importance than the particular.

The second characteristic of the book that has impressed us is its swift, brilliant style. Constant freshness of expression, frequent epigram, bold and unexpected statements, and a certain warmth of feeling that runs through all of Mr. Trevelyan's work give it a charm and interest, even where personal incidents, the usual opportunity for brilliance, can play but a small part. The English language after the Norman Conquest described as an "underground growth and unconscious self-preparation of the despised island *Patois*"; Bosworth Field where "on a bare Leicestershire upland a few thousand men in close conflict, foot to foot, while a few thousand more stood aside to watch the issue, sufficed to set upon the throne of England the greatest of all her royal lines", and many other such passages furnish as much spirit and interest as do vivacious narrative or detailed characterization.

Third, is its substantial and critical knowledge. No student of English history can fail to be impressed with the care with which Mr. Trevelyan has either kept up with the progress of research or prepared himself for this special task. No historian can of course work from the sources over so long a period, nor can any scholar follow every detail of other men's work in all aspects and periods of his subject. Yet it is remarkable how often a test of any particular point shows that Mr. Trevelyan knows what has recently been done to clarify knowledge or correct earlier error on that especial subject.

With this fullness of knowledge and vivacity of style and suggestiveness of thought there is little doubt that this book will be much read and will exercise a strong impression. Whether that impression will be in all respects beneficial we have one or two haunting doubts. It is, in the first place, too brilliant. Many of its epigrams when soberly considered are not strictly true. Again it is ardently national—not simply with that gentle interest in his own people and country which suffuses Green's work, with which we have compared Mr. Trevelyan's, but with a more militant assertive sense of the superiority of English institutions and character over those of other nations that savors of the later nineteenth and early twentieth centuries—the nationalism of the days before, during, and to a lesser extent perhaps since the Great War. This impression made upon the reader is in most cases general rather than specific.

it is implicit rather than explicit. The "splendid future", the "new and larger means of destiny" that appear and reappear in Mr. Trevelyan's prophetic narrative are perhaps only somewhat exuberant expressions of national self-consciousness. But we are also told that "English freedom, being rooted in insular peculiarities, required, if it was ever to reach its full growth, a period of isolation from European influences and dangers". France and Spain, though he acknowledges that they had at one time systems of estates, "failed to adapt them to modern conditions". The victory of England over France in 1760 "decided that free institutions instead of despotic institutions were to dominate North America". These are assertions not only that English institutions were characteristic and interesting and influential, but that they had an innate superiority over those of all foreign countries, that the English were in some sense a "chosen people" among the nations. This is not an historical or a worthy conception. It is dangerous for English readers to be filled with a complacency that blinds them to their own defects and to others' excellences. It is not desirable that readers of other nationalities should be either vexed or amused by an insular sense of superiority. Moreover such an attitude of mind on the part of the historian makes him credulous, or at least tempts him to exaggeration. Mr. Trevelyan antedates modern English commercial superiority by at least two centuries. He remarks that Britain in the sixteenth century "turned back the tide of despotism and elaborated a system by which a debating club of elected persons could successfully govern an Empire in peace and war". We were under the impression that the British Parliament had shown rather special incapacity to govern an empire. In the seventeenth century it was Parliament's "wise and salutary neglect", according to Burke, that allowed the colonies to grow and flourish. Government of the colonies by Parliament in the early eighteenth century was a chronicle of ineptitude; when it tried to govern them more rigorously after the middle of the century it lost the best of them, and in the nineteenth century it has only retained them by ceasing to govern them. It was rather the enterprise of English merchants, the occasional successes of English admirals and generals, and the fecundity of English and colonial mothers that extended English institutions, trade, language, and influence so widely through the world. Parliament's influence where it has not been injurious has been negligible.

With all his distinction, brilliance, and learning, Mr. Trevelyan sometimes reminds us of one of his own heroes. He has admirable knowledge and insight and sympathy for his own ship of state and it sails a brave course through his pages, but when he looks toward another ship, the characteristic institutions of another country, like Nelson he puts his telescope to his blind eye.

E. P. CHEYNEY.

*Les Barbares, des Grandes Invasions aux Conquêtes Turques du XI<sup>e</sup> Siècle.* Par LOUIS HALPHEN, Professeur à la Faculté des Lettres de Bordeaux. [Peuples et Civilisations, Histoire Générale.] (Paris: Félix Alcan. 1926. Pp. 393. 40 fr.)

THIS fifth volume of the new general history, *Peuples et Civilisations*, is written by one of the editors of the series. It surveys the first seven medieval centuries, which the author treats as a long duel between barbarism and civilization (p. 355), a struggle which had no definite beginning or end. The book begins with the first great German invasions, which really constitute the opening of a new historical period. On the other hand, it is not so evident that the close of the eleventh century marks the end or beginning of anything of very great importance, although M. Halphen believes that it was a lull in the storm. At that time the Byzantine Empire was reviving, and the new peoples of the West were ready to take the offensive against the Mohammedan world. Still, the barbarian groups had already been long settled in their places, and were well on their way in the process of creating medieval civilization.

The civilization which struggled with barbarism changed with the centuries. In the Arab empire and the Greek "fraction" of the Roman world it was the old culture which was preserved or revived. In the West barbarism had its way, and civilization had to be created anew. There, "ni l'organisation politique, ni l'organisation sociale des États fondés par les Germains à l'occident de notre Europe ne rappellent, dans leurs traits généraux, celle de l'Empire des Césars" (p. 76). The peoples most influenced by Roman ways succumbed first, while the Franks, who remained more stubbornly barbarian, played the great rôle in the West.

It is true that the western barbarians made conscious efforts to recover something of the old civilization. They regarded the empire of Charles the Great as a political restoration, a *renovatio imperii Romanii*, and the Carolingian Renaissance was a youthful effort to learn something of the old Roman culture. Nevertheless, it was really the first step toward the adaptation of the old ideas to the needs of a new society. "N'est-ce point, du reste, la loi de toutes les 'renaissances' de préparer la voie aux civilisations nouvelles?" (p. 257). The empire of Otto I., which may be called the last large-scale barbarian state, was intended to be a restoration of the empire of the great Charles, and the intellectual awakening of the tenth century was animated by purpose very like that of the Carolingian Renaissance. A new civilization, not the old, was triumphing in the West.

Throughout the book the barbarians are always before us. The stories of their movements and settlements are told in a skillful way, and the summaries of institutions and civilizations are interesting and useful. Nevertheless, the period is viewed too much from the top. The barbarian peoples did indeed create large states and even empires, but all

of these amateur attempts at state-building failed. The new society was forming at the bottom, where small groups of people were learning the elementary lessons of local government and economic life. The book tells nothing of the beginnings of feudalism.

It is unfortunate that a book which contains so many well-selected facts and events does not have an index. The bibliographical notes are brief and refer the readers chiefly to general works. In conclusion it may be said that the book is a scholarly and interesting survey of a confused period of history. It is well named, "the Barbarians".

FREDERIC DUNCALF.

*Cambridge Medieval History.* Planned by J. B. BURY, M.A., F.B.A., edited by J. R. TANNER, C. W. PREVITÉ-ORTON, and Z. N. BROOKE. Volume V. *Contest of Empire and Papacy.* (Cambridge: University Press; New York: Macmillan Company. 1926. Pp. xlv, 1005. 50 s.)

THIS volume is concerned with the events from 1050 to 1200 A. D. Inevitably, from the plan of the work, it can not cover all the history of that period and also some chapters discuss material of a much earlier or much later date. As the subtitle indicates, the Contest of Empire and Papacy is stressed, and about half of the volume is given to the Church and the German Empire. The history of Germany and Italy is carried through the reign of Henry VI. For France, the reigns of Louis VI. and Louis VII. are included; for England, from the Conquest through the reign of Henry II., with a preliminary treatment of the development of Normandy. The Crusades are covered, and as an introduction there is a chapter on Islam in Syria and Egypt from 750 to 1100. The communal movement, especially in France, and the Italian cities till c. 1200, are discussed from the political standpoint. The other chapters deal with monastic orders, Roman and canon law, schools, and philosophy.

The history of Spain, Scandinavia, Poland, Bohemia, Hungary, and other parts of Europe is reserved for a later volume, also "the economic history of the development and organization of trade and industry, as well as of agricultural conditions". The introduction, on the importance of this period, states: "We have to deal, then, with a period, on the one hand, of new movements and ideas—the appearance of new monastic orders, a renaissance of thought and learning, the rise of towns and the expansion of commerce; on the other, of consolidation and centralization." But the new movements and new ideas are very inadequately represented, especially as there is no chapter on the universities, no mention of the literary and architectural achievements of the twelfth century. Nor are the consolidation and centralization as well illustrated by the material in this volume as they would be if there had been a different division of the subject-matter to be included in this and subsequent volumes. In these respects the expectations aroused by the introduction are disappointed.



This is a Cambridge medieval history and in this volume twelve of the twenty-three chapters are written by Cambridge men. This is very different from the plan followed in securing authors for volumes I. and II. There are only three foreign contributors: Chalandon, for the Normans in Italy; Halphen, for Louis VI. and Louis VII.; and Balzani, for Italy. All of these are natural and excellent choices and the chapters are well done.

The work is, of course, uneven. Chapter I., on the Reform of the Church, by Whitney, covers the usual ground, but is not inspiring or easy reading; for example, one sentence reads: "Benevento, whence the citizens had driven the Lombard Princes, and which Leo now visited, was at Worms (autumn 1052) in a later visit to Germany given to the Papacy in exchange for Bamberg." Brooke, in addition to the general introduction, which is admirable, writes chapters on Gregory VII. and on Germany under Henry IV. and Henry V. which are real contributions, especially as they are well annotated. Corbett, whose untimely death is a loss to our profession, wrote on Normandy and England, and, as the editors state, "Even if his researches on Domesday should never now be published, his main conclusions will be found in the *Cambridge Medieval History*". Unfortunately these are very brief and only whet our appetites for more. Austin Lane Poole writes satisfactory chapters on Germany from 1125 to the death of Henry VI. As Balzani wrote the chapters on Italy which cover the same ground and to some extent the same material, there are repetitions and contradictory statements. "The story of the Crusades is described in this volume from the Western point of view, and it has already been told from the Eastern standpoint in Volume IV." (A hypercritic might question the wisdom of such a plan). It is interesting to note that the First Crusade is here described by Stevenson, who was especially fitted for the task, because he had already written a history of the Crusades, "from the Eastern point of view". Kingsford, in a brief chapter of nineteen pages, tells of the kingdom of Jerusalem to 1291; and Passant, in a still shorter chapter, the effects of the Crusades upon Western Europe. Previté-Orton treats of the Italian cities and Miss Lodge of the Communes; although neither was able wholly to omit any reference to economic condition, the limitation put upon them by the plan of this volume precluded such a treatment as we should have expected from them. Mrs. Stenton undertook the chapter on Henry II. of England "at short notice", and finished it promptly and creditably. The chapter on Monastic Orders by Thompson is very full of facts; the enormous range of time, from the Carolingian era to the Reformation, and quantity of material to be included were too extensive for satisfactory treatment in a chapter of thirty-nine pages. The chapter on Schools to c. 1300 is brief and thin; there are only two pages for the post-Carolingian period. The author, Miss Deanesly, is evidently not to blame, for she adds a note at the end of the chapter: "No description of grammar schools, other than those attached to cathedral or collegiate churches, has been here attempted, for reasons

of space. Between the rise of the universities, c. 1170, when grammar masters became more plentiful, and the end of the thirteenth century, such schools existed, and even in some numbers; but they were the same in character and method as they were in the next two centuries, when they became still more numerous. A full description of such grammar schools will be given in Vol. VIII." It seems a pity that the whole matter should not have been left till it could be treated adequately. I am not competent to criticize technically either the chapter on Philosophy or the one on Law; but the latter, by Hazeltine, seems to me wholly admirable. The treatment is clear, logical, comprehensive; it is the longest and I think the best chapter in the volume.

There are comparatively few mistakes, and most of them seem to be slips in proof-reading or else relatively unimportant. There are contradictory statements by authors who have to mention the same events. There are more foot-notes, mainly references to sources, than in the earlier volumes—a welcome change. But the practice varies greatly: two chapters have no notes; six others have four or less each; one has seventy-five; in all there are about five hundred. The volume is, as usual, supplied with a list (inadequate) of corrigenda and with a chronological table of events. There are nine maps, similar in execution to those in the preceding volumes. There are the usual bibliographies, varying in fullness and excellence; and as usual, the question of inclusion or omission arises in the reviewer's mind; it is mainly a question of judgment, but there seems to be no justification for omitting under the Military Orders (p. 919) Marquis d'Albon's *Cartulaire Général de l'Ordre du Temple* and two or three of the other important works on the Templars such as Gmelin and Curzon, especially as some of the works included have little, if any, value.

DANA C. MUNRO.

*The Franciscans in England, 1224-1538.* By EDWARD HUTTON.  
(London: Constable; Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1926. Pp. 236. 7 s. 6 d.)

WITH the exception of a small brochure of some forty pages published in 1924 by the Franciscan fathers of Forest Gate, London, on the occasion of the celebrations at Canterbury in honor of the seventh centenary of the coming of the Franciscans to England, an excellent though unpretentious work, no attempt has been made since Father Anthony Parkinson, O.F.M., brought out his *Collectanea Anglo-Minoritica, or a Collection of the Antiquities of the English Franciscans or Friars Minors, commonly called Gray Friars*, in 1726, to write a continuous history of the Franciscans in England. That was two hundred years ago. It is only within the last fifty years that any interest has been taken in the subject. Following the publication of the *Monumenta Franciscana* in the Rolls Series and the classification and indexing of the state archives much has been written concerning the work of the First English

Province; but it has taken the form of essays and articles on particular aspects of their life and work. Mr. Hutton's book will then be welcome to those who wish to form some idea of what we know of the Franciscans before their ruthless suppression in 1539.

Though Mr. Hutton gives no bibliography he generally gives in the foot-notes, which are copious, the sources of his information. From these it appears that his book is in fact what the publishers call it, an *ouvrage d'ensemble*, a compilation in narrative form, interestingly written, of what has already been published concerning the Greyfriars in England from their arrival to their suppression. A casual glance through the book might lead to the impression that the work was exhaustive. This is by no means the case. His notes, for example, of the Northampton Friary could have been still further enlarged even from Eccleston who tells us (chapter IX.) that it was altered while Albert of Pisa was provincial. The state records mention that in 1280 A. D. permission was sought to divert the water from a spring at Thorp to the friary by means of conduits. (*Inq. ad quod Damnum*, 6 Edward I., no. 61(b); *Mon. Franc.*, II. 283.)

When treating of the introduction of the Observant Friars into England he shows that A. G. Little's paper read before the British Academy July 11, 1923 (*Proceedings of the British Academy*, vol. XI.), was unknown to him, or he would surely have given the exact date of the foundation of the friary at Greenwich. This, Mr. Little informs us, can be known for certain as July 2, 1482, from the notarial instrument drawn up by the notary, E. Grimely, who was present and from a letter of another eyewitness, Edmund Audley, bishop of Rochester, the papal commissary. Bouchier joined the Observants in 1566 and not 1557 as stated by Mr. Hutton (p. 240, n. 1), who has here however been misled by such authorities as the *Dictionary of National Biography*, Parkinson, Anthony à Wood, etc. (Cf. *Epistola Dedicatoria* prefixed to the Ingolstadt edition of Bouchier's *Historia Ecclesiastica*, 1583, p. 4.)

The work of the friars at Oxford is well described; but to devote a chapter each to Roger Bacon, Duns Scotus, and William of Ockham, forty pages in all, is perhaps over emphasizing one aspect of the friars' work for they always played a large part in the public life of the nation. A chapter might have been devoted to those other geniuses, Adam Marsh and John Peckham, archbishop of Canterbury. This would have given a better idea of the activities of the friars, for it should not be forgotten that the pope often employed English friars in positions of responsibility. When Tyssington was provincial, two English friars were sent for to adjust the differences between the friars in Spain. The pope, however, found them very unwilling to accept the office of agent for the levying of papal dues during the reign of Henry III. They successfully claimed exemption from being appointed papal tax-collectors, unless special power was conferred on the legate to this end. The Bishop of Sabina, in 1263, and the legate Ottobon, in 1265, obtained such powers. To the friars fell the task of preaching the Crusades. In 1241 Dominican

and Franciscan friars were deputed by the council of bishops at Oxford to negotiate with Frederick II.; but their mission proved abortive. Friars accompanied the Archbishop of Canterbury, when he went to make peace between Henry III. and his regent in 1264. Their help was sought after not only by popes, bishops, and kings, but even by burgesses. The trouble between the townsfolk of Yarmouth and the Cinque Ports was amicably settled at the London Friary in 1290. When Edward I. was outraging Christian charity in his treatment of the Jews, it was the Franciscans who interceded successfully on their behalf.

It must not be thought that these great offices of trust prevented more homely services from being rendered. The friars were much sought after by the people themselves to make peace between neighbors, and sometimes even between husband and wife.

From Mr. Hutton's chapter on the Decay of the Friars it would appear that the order had lost its hold on the popular imagination. He might have given as a corrective to this view a list of wills in favor of the friars and requests to be buried within the precincts of the friaries which occur in large numbers even after the Black Death.

For our part we should describe the position of the friars when confronted with Henry VIII.'s pretensions somewhat differently from Mr. Hutton. The friars never thought that the enactments of the king in either political or even doctrinal matters would endure for any length of time. Many perceived that if they could hold on, the normal state of affairs would return, and they would be able once more to follow their vocation unmolested. There had been political trouble with the pope before, which had been subsequently settled. There was no reason at first for thinking that Henry's quarrel would be lasting. Later, when too late, they found that a cabal of unscrupulous politicians was making capital out of the king's vices and strong action would be necessary; but the time for corporate action was past. It became a question of *sauve qui peut*. It became a question for the conscience of each. The names of those who are known to have conformed are few; those who suffered imprisonment number over two hundred, while at least fifty sealed their faith with their blood or died in prison. However, all were not called upon to make the supreme sacrifice. Many fled the country and were to be found following their vocation abroad.

The author has taken much information from Davenport and Parkinson and in this, perhaps, he would not be followed by those who are now engaged in research on the subject. There is no doubt that both need careful editing.

Provided then that the book be not taken as anything more than a popular résumé of what is known of the First Province we can heartily recommend it. In our opinion the time has not yet come for the history of those three hundred years of Franciscanism in England to be reliably written and we think therefore that Mr. Hutton's work viewed from a scientific standpoint is premature.

*The Valuation of Norwich.* Edited by W. E. LUNT, Walter D. and Edith M. L. Scull Professor of English Constitutional History in Haverford College. (Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1926. Pp. xv, 870. 28 s.)

THE edition of the valuation of Norwich is an important addition to the material available for the study of the papal taxes in England during the thirteenth century. Heretofore anyone seeking for records of the assessment of such taxes has had to be content with the *Taxatio* of Pope Nicholas IV., A. D. 1291, and several fragments of earlier taxes published in out-of-the-way places. Though the present edition of the assessment of 1254 is unavoidably incomplete, it adds a number of new documents and corrected texts of those previously published. The records of the valuation in eight dioceses are given in full. These cover fourteen English and six Welsh counties and parts of two English and two Welsh counties. There are also the returns of the assessment of the incomes of twenty religious houses scattered through the country. The appendixes contain portions of the assessments of 1268 and 1276 and summaries of parts of valuations earlier than that of Norwich.

The introduction is the best historical survey of papal taxation in England to the year 1254 that has appeared. It is a careful piece of work by one who has been recognized for years as the leading scholar in that field of research.

Though the plan of taxing clerical income was first utilized by the kings of France and England, it was soon adopted by the papacy for its own purposes. After the levy of the fortieth of ecclesiastical revenues demanded by Innocent III. in 1299, there are a number of instances of papal taxes upon the English clergy. The strenuous, and occasionally effective, resistance of the same clergy forms an interesting part of the story. Especial attention is paid by the editor to the methods of assessing and collecting the taxes. The machinery of assessment, crude until 1229, was then centralized and made reasonably efficient. Even so, before 1254 too little emphasis was laid upon the personal investigation of the value of income by the assessors and too much upon the statements of the clergy who were to pay the taxes. Everyone interested in either lay or clerical taxation owes a debt of gratitude for the discussion of the terms *temporalia* and *spiritualia*. The statement (p. 73, note 3) concerning the position of temporalities acquired after 1291, and thus not annexed to spiritualities, needs however to be slightly revised, for such temporalities were assessed for the lay subsidies without reference to concurrent clerical taxes.

The chapter devoted to the characteristics of the valuation of Norwich is an able examination of a difficult problem. It is concerned primarily with the causes of the great increase, an increase of about one hundred per cent., in the valuation of 1291 over that of 1254. Professor Lunt's careful study of the various factors that may have brought about the increase leads to results that are somewhat at variance with those of some

previous writers on the subject. He finds that the increase in the value of spiritualities "was probably due in the main, partly to an increase of actual value, partly to an increase of the nominal assessed value, but it was due in larger part to the latter cause". The great increase in the valuation of 1291 over that of 1254 was, however, in the sphere of temporalities. The conclusion is reached that this was largely due "to the inclusion in the valuation of 1291 of property which did not appear in the valuation of Norwich".

The book is well indexed. In appendix VII. there is given a bibliography of books cited. Typographical errors are practically non-existent. In accuracy, sound scholarship, and completeness the edition of the valuation of Norwich leaves nothing to be desired.

JAMES F. WILLARD.

*Calendar of Plea and Memoranda Rolls, preserved among the Archives of the Corporation of the City of London at the Guildhall: Rolls A1a-A9, a. d. 1323-1364.* Edited by A. H. THOMAS, M.A. [Printed by order of the Corporation under the direction of the Library Committee.] (Cambridge: University Press. 1926. Pp. xxxvi, 334. 15 s.)

THIS volume continues the series of calendars of London records begun by Dr. R. R. Sharpe. From the Plea and Memoranda Rolls Dr. Sharpe drew many interesting facts for the first volume of his *London and the Kingdom*, and it is cause for rejoicing that the contents of the first ten of the 102 rolls are now made available by this full and well-edited calendar.

The period covered by the ten rolls includes the last four years of Edward II.'s reign and all but six of the years of Edward III.'s reign. At first the entries are few, but they clearly reflect the kingdom's rising indignation at the misrule of Edward II. and the Despensers. The opening entry shows the mayor and commonalty resisting a demand for troops to aid in ejecting from Wallingford Castle some adherents of the king's recently executed opponent, Thomas of Lancaster. So little confidence had Edward in his capital's loyalty that he summoned the city's magistrates to Westminster and deposed the mayor. This proceeding was not calculated to increase London's affection for the king, and soon after Isabella and Mortimer landed in Suffolk, the city mob murdered the Bishop of Exeter, supporter of the Despensers. The magistrates, after a moment's hesitancy, which brought forth a threatening letter from Isabella, welcomed the queen and her paramour, and upon the assembling of Parliament, united with the commonalty in inviting the great men assembled at Westminster to come to the Guildhall and swear to depose Edward. When Edward resigned his crown at Kenilworth, a delegation of Londoners witnessed the event and received from the city £50 for the expenses of their journey.



If London felt any remorse after the brutal murder of Edward, that was only because Mortimer turned out to be as bad as the Despencers. The city supplied a contingent for the campaign against Bruce and the Scots, but when, after a disgraceful peace had been made, Isabella, having undertaken to return the Coronation Stone to the Scots, ordered the sheriffs to send it to her, they replied that the abbot and convent of Westminster refused to surrender it. London had its own special reason for disliking the long Scottish war. The Exchequer and the Common Bench had been removed to York, and though the king was entreated to send them back to Westminster, he replied that their presence at York drew many people thither and helped to defend the north. More than a year passed before London secured a promise that the "King's places" should return home.

After the hanging of Mortimer and the beginning of Edward III.'s personal rule, the entries on the rolls become little more than legal records. Yet they reveal that the city furnished the king with men and money for his wars and on one occasion, though grumblingly, with ships. They also show that during Edward's absences on the Continent the magistrates did all in their power to guard the city and to maintain order within its walls. This did not prevent a "terrible affray" between the fishmongers and the goldsmiths, and another between the fishmongers and the skimmers, during which one excited man seized the mayor by the throat, and was shortly after beheaded therefor.

It is evident throughout that London is the political capital of the realm and conscious of her dignity and responsibilities as such. It is equally evident that she is a great commercial city and conscious of her dignity and responsibilities from that standpoint as well. She looks after the interests of her merchants at home and abroad. She keeps a watchful eye on all goods made or bought and sold within her precincts. She tries hard to prevent forestalling; and after the Black Death, she shares in the vain effort to keep down prices and wages.

The editor's introduction consists mainly of a clear and interesting account of the development of the powers and duties of the city authorities as conservators of the peace. He has also supplied the full indexes so essential to the usefulness of such a book as this, and a list of unusual words found in the text.

CORA L. SCOFIELD.

*John Wyclif, a Study of the English Medieval Church.* By HERBERT B. WORKMAN, D.Lit., D.D., Principal of Westminster College, Senator of London University. Two volumes. (Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1926. Pp. xl, 342; xii, 436. 30 s.)

IN these volumes Dr. Workman has given us an adequate and satisfactory biography of Wyclif, based on a thorough examination of both the sources and the secondary material. He describes in considerable detail the stage on which Wyclif played his part, and the other actors

who appeared in the same scenes; the hero has the title-rôle—as is in accordance with the best tradition—but he does not monopolize the stage, nor are the other members of the cast mere lay-figures or foils. The result is a work characterized by insight and acumen, sympathetic toward its main subject, yet discriminating, and unmarred by serious bias or prejudice; Wyclif's opponents are not portrayed as villains in the drama, and, if the author regards him as a saint, he never indulges in that fulsome eulogy that is the undoing of so much hagiography.

The work is divided into three books, "The Schoolman", "The Politician", "The Reformer", the third of which takes up, with appendixes and index, the entire second volume. After a consideration of Wyclif's importance in history comes an account of his birthplace and early surroundings. The little village of Wycliffe, near Richmond, in the North Riding of Yorkshire, was in an archdeaconry whose archdeacon was an alien absentee, very near the borders of the diocese of that most "Caesarean" of prelates, the bishop of Durham, and, after 1342, under the overlordship of John of Gaunt. Whatever bearing this may have had on his later career, it is not uninteresting to observe how early Wyclif learned something about non-resident and worldly ecclesiastics, that he grew up in a region more than amply provided with monastic establishments, and that for thirty years John of Gaunt was his overlord. Assuming him to have been born about 1328, Dr. Workman suggests 1345 as a probable date for Wyclif to go to Oxford (a year or two years earlier would seem more likely), and, of the three colleges that claim him as a student, he decides in favor of Balliol. Stirring events occurred in Oxford during Wyclif's student days, riots between town and gown and great academic issues, yet in these he shows no sign of interest, though later he threw himself eagerly into the struggle between the seculars and regulars. Because Wyclif's work as a reformer can not be rightly appraised without recognition of his position as a schoolman, Dr. Workman devotes much attention to the inner life of the university and the intellectual interests of its members, the conflict between Thomist and Scotist, and, more particularly, to the divers winds of doctrine that determined Wyclif's own course. "The reader would err greatly if he ascribed to Wyclif any revolt against current scholastic thought", says the author, and, later in the book, "Wyclif, judged as a schoolman, does little more than gyrate on a well-beaten path, often concealing with a cloud of dust and digressions that he is but moving in a circle."

In the summer of 1361 Wyclif, having resigned his position as Master of Balliol, which he had held for from three to five years, took up his work as rector of Fillingham, a college living to which he was presented in the spring of that year. Possibly he remained there for a year or more; in 1363 he obtained five years' leave of absence to study theology at Oxford and took rooms at Queen's College. He was now both absentee and pluralist, for in 1362 the pope had conferred on him a prebend in the collegiate church of Westbury on Trym, near Bristol, which he retained throughout his life. He was reported in 1366 for non-residence at West-

bury and failure to provide a chaplain in his stead. Three other of the five canons were reported at the same time, so his neglect was not unusual, yet Dr. Workman's excuses for Wyclif's inaction come dangerously near to special pleading. About that same time he was nominated by Archbishop Islip to be warden of Canterbury Hall. This was an incident in the contest of seculars and regulars; and Wyclif's tenure of office was brief, for the monks who had been ousted won their case, despite an appeal to the Holy See. "It is clear that, legally, Wyclif had little to be said in his favour." He returned to Oxford, had his leave of absence from his parish renewed, exchanged the living of Fillingham for that of Ludgershall, and kept on with his theological studies. In 1369 he took his B.D. degree, and proceeded D.D. three years later.

Shortly before attaining the doctorate Wyclif entered the service of the crown, a service inconsistent with his theories regarding absenteeism and the "secularization" of the clergy. In the summer of 1364 he was one of a deputation that met the papal nuncios at Bruges, on a rather futile mission. Far more important in his career as a politician was the alliance that he later formed with John of Gaunt, an alliance which gave him for a time the assistance of the friars and the support of the dominant court party and, till death, the protection of the duke. Referring to the memorandum on the subject of sanctuary, submitted by Wyclif to the parliament at Gloucester in 1375, Dr. Workman observes that "Wyclif made the mistake of mixing up shady politics with what he deemed to be the 'truth'", a judgment that applies also to much else in his career.

Limitations of space prevent more than a passing reference to the account of the Reformer, the portion of the biography that will probably be of most interest to many readers, but tribute must be paid to the author's evident mastery of Wyclif's theological writings, to his scrupulous fairness in dealing with Wyclif's adversaries, to the lucidity of his treatment. Mention must be made, too, of his account of the translation of the Bible. It was "the expression of a movement which would have produced a translation in the latter years of the fourteenth, or the opening years of the fifteenth centuries, altogether apart from Wyclif". Moreover, neither of the versions produced under his influence was Wyclif's work; his own contribution to Bible translation is in his *Sermons*.

Wyclif was a mass of glaring contradictions: a reformer mixed up in shady politics, a modernist entangled in medieval logomachies, guilty of some of the practices that he most condemns. He protests against the cultus of the saints, and says, "Worship we Jesus and Mary with all our might"; he resents authority in religion, and would place the Church in the control of civil government. Dr. Workman, realizing all this and much more, yet gives a sympathetic study of a great figure. The few *corrigenda* which the present writer would venture to suggest, did space permit, in no way detract from the general excellence of the book.

ALFRED H. SWEET.

*Am Hofe der Herzöge von Burgund.* Von OTTO CARTELLIERI.  
(Basel: Benno Schwabe and Company. 1926. Pp. xii, 329.  
12.50 fr.)

VERY appropriately does Professor Cartellieri entitle his work "Kulturhistorische Bilder", for he has undertaken to present a series of separate cross-sections from "the unusually rich and brilliant culture of (the) court where a dying chivalry celebrated its last triumph", picturing the life of knights and ladies, the work of artists, the ambition of princes. His text is punctuated with dramatic descriptions, often of considerable length, of episodes such as the funeral of Philip the Bold, the marriage festivities of Charles the Rash and Margaret of York, and the Feast of the Pheasant, which make vivid the period under consideration. These are further enlivened by selections from contemporary poets, and by very well-chosen illustrations. Twenty years of study have given the author a mastery of his material, and students will find his notes of great bibliographical value, particularly for studies scattered in the diverse learned reviews.

Symonds and Burckhardt have so emphasized the Italian side of the Renaissance and the break between the Renaissance and the Middle Ages that every work which serves to neutralize their exaggerations will be most welcome. In the book before us the cultural independence of the North, and the natural growth of its Renaissance characteristics from its medieval past become clear. The absolutism of Philip the Good is a legitimate despotism modelled on the ideals of Philip Augustus and Philip the Fair, instead of a parvenu tyranny. This very legitimacy enables the duke to cloak his rule in the forms of the old chivalry instead of the more practical and cynical ones of Italian statecraft. John the Fearless is as Machiavellian as any of his contemporaries, but he turns to a schoolman to justify his political murders. Students of political theory will find useful the summary of Jean Petit's arguments for tyrannicide and their refutation. We see the development of the artist from the artisan, freeing himself through princely patronage from the cramping conventions and regulations of the gild, only to find himself still bound by the necessity of glorifying his patron. Literature at the Burgundian court still has something of medieval spontaneity and naïveté, in spite of a tendency to flattery. Yet in a flourishing literary period the Valois dukes seem to collect their books rather as handsome valuables than as works of literature. Instead of being captured by the classical enthusiasm of the Italians, they continue to regard the ancients in the romantic manner, and to draw moral lessons from the labors of Hercules.

Comparison with Huizinga's *The Waning of the Middle Ages* is natural since both scholars use the same sources. The Dutchman, however, attempts a philosophical interpretation of the age, while the German confines himself more to description. The incidents which Huizinga cites as typical of a point of view, Cartellieri uses in a discussion of Roger van der Weyden's portrait of Philip the Good. The one is concerned

with the characteristics of an epoch, the other with those of a court. The court represented the epoch. The clash of chivalry with reality is not overlooked, as for instance when Jacques de Lalaing, the ideal knight, is killed by a cannon-ball. But the emphasis is upon "the barbarous pageantry" of the ducal court, which seems to have been a combination of charades and vaudeville. The relation of this artificial magnificence to events seems remote. Even the Feast of the Pheasant appears to have been sumptuous allegory for its own sake, in which the real meaning was obscured by the pretentiousness of the setting. Very aptly the author likens it to Gothic architecture degenerating into baroque.

RICHARD A. NEWHALL.

*The Danish Sound Dues and the Command of the Baltic, a Study of International Relations.* By CHARLES E. HILL, Professor of Political Science in George Washington University. (Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press. 1926. Pp. ix, 305. \$4.00.)

THERE has long been a need for a systematic presentation of the part played by the Sound dues in the diplomatic history of northern Europe. Since the appearance of the books of Scherer and Van der Hoeven more than seventy years ago, enough new material has been published to justify a new synthesis. The present work by Professor Hill is the first serious attempt to provide a modern account of this interesting chapter in international relations. The publication of certain notable collections has come to the scholar's aid. Fru Nina E. Bang's monumental *Tabeller over Skibsfart og Varetransport gennem Øresund*, the twenty-four volumes of the *Hanserecess*, 1256-1530, the *Hansische Geschichtsblätter*, Laursen's *Danmark-Norges Traktater*, the works of Gustavus Vasa and of Axel Oxenstjerna, furnish a mine of valuable materials, of which the author has made effective use.

To attempt to tell the story of the Sound dues from their origin about 1430 to their abolition in 1857 in a single modest volume, and use all the available sources, printed and in manuscript, would be out of the question. The author does not claim to have done this. But he has presented a clear and interesting account that embodies the results of recent scholarship in the field and of his own independent investigation.

The Sound (*Øresund*) passes between Sjaelland and the Scanian coast of Sweden, and is the leading waterway connecting the North Sea with the Baltic. Denmark's success in maintaining its claim to treat this important highway of commerce as a Danish stream, subject to such dues as king or state might impose upon traffic, led of necessity to numerous attempts by maritime states to have the dues lowered or even abolished. The Hanseatic towns were frequent sufferers. The building of Kronborg castle at Elsinore in the 1580's is evidence of the importance then attached to the Sound dues as a source of royal revenue (p. 74). Frederick II. (1534-1588) had actually the audacity to protest to Queen Elizabeth against English ships passing between Norway and Iceland on their way

to Russia's port in the White Sea; and it is recorded that the queen agreed that her merchants should pay him for the privilege! (pp. 71-73). The focal points in the story are the treaties of Brömsebro and Kristianopel, made with Sweden and the United Provinces, respectively, in 1645, by which Christian IV. gave up his claim to dominion over the Baltic and North seas; and the treaty concluded with the Dutch in 1701. Soon after 1815, the Sound dues began to figure in the debates in the British Parliament, as they did in the negotiations with Sweden, Prussia, and the United States. A conference of all the interested powers was proposed by Denmark in 1855, and within two years redemption quotas were agreed to by most of the powers, including the United States.

A few omissions and errors in the bibliography ought to be noted. Bogislaß Philip von Chemnitz's great work on Swedish participation in the Thirty Years' War remains an important source for international relations of that time, though it closes with 1646. Six volumes of Laursen's *Danmark-Norges Traktater* have appeared, not five. *Gustav den Förstes Registratur* is not listed, but apparently the item, *Handlingar rörande Sveriges Historia*, is intended to designate it. Of this, there are 28, not 41, volumes, and the dates of publication are 1861-1916. *Hansische Geschichtsblätter* has appeared at least up to 1920. Seventeen volumes of Oxenstjerna's *Skrifter och Brefväxling* had come out by 1920. *Danmarks Riges Historie* appeared during the period 1896-1907. Nos. 8047-8079 of volume I. of Erichsen and Krarup's *Dansk Historisk Bibliografi* have several titles not listed by the author. Setterwall's *Svensk Historisk Bibliografi, 1875-1900, 1901-1920*, might have solved some of the bibliographical difficulties.

WALDEMAR WESTERGAARD.

*Étude sur le Gouvernement de François I<sup>er</sup> dans ses Rapports avec le Parlement de Paris.* Par ROGER DOUCET, Professeur à la Faculté des Lettres d'Alger. Volume II., 1525-1527. (Paris: Champion. 1926. Pp. 321. 25 fr.)

WITH the second installment of this important work (of which the first was reviewed on pp. 106-107 of volume XXVIII. of this journal) M. Doucet reaches the heart of his subject—the period directly following the battle of Pavia, during the first part of which King Francis was a prisoner at Madrid. The Parlement de Paris was therefore most favorably situated for a renewal, with added vigor, of its efforts to widen the scope of its authority; indeed a parallel at once suggests itself with the years after Poitiers, when King John was a captive in England, and the États Généraux attempted to control the government during his absence. But the Parlement was unable to achieve anything approaching even the temporary success which the États had won in 1357; and M. Doucet's volume is largely devoted to an explanation of the reasons for its failure.



The monarchical spirit of the age was, of course, the fundamental cause. The "rights" which the Parlement demanded, and which would have been indispensable to success—such as, for instance, the irremovability of its counsellors—were totally without legal foundation; the États Généraux was the only body which could lawfully pretend to any measure of real authority in the government—and even their claims were practically limited to periods of crisis and financial stringency. Some few of the "parlementaires" seem to have realized how much their hands would be strengthened by a convocation of the États, and made a move to bring this about in March, 1525; but the majority of their colleagues failed to support them, and Louise de Savoie found no difficulty in thwarting their plans. The efforts of the Parlement to solidify its position by the creation of the so-called "Assemblée de la Salle Verte"—an amorphous organization composed of certain members of the Chambre des Comptes and the representatives of the clergy and municipality of Paris—in the hope of enlisting more supporters for its programme, was also a dismal failure; the regent played her cards with consummate skill, and the "Assemblée" soon dwindled away. The Parlement was in fact too much interested in the assertion of its own authority, and too little alive to the general welfare, to enable it to win the cordial alliance of any other portion of the body politic in the prosecution of its plans. Its activity was indeed ubiquitous. Not only did it seek to limit the legislative power of the crown; it attempted to intervene in the administration of the northern provinces; it strove to extirpate heresy and invalidate the Concordat; it even pretended to play a part in the determination of the foreign policy. But none of its different efforts to assert itself was successful; and the edict of July 24, 1527, marks the triumph of monarchical reaction. By it the Parlement was definitely notified that it was an exclusively judicial body—a court, not a council, nor a political assembly; and moreover that even as a court it was henceforth to regard itself as distinctly subordinate to the more recent judicial offshoots of the Cour du Roi, and particularly to the Grand Conseil de Justice. The monarch, in other words, was the supreme judge.

M. Doucet is really giving us a constitutional history of the reign of Francis I., and all students of the sixteenth century will be profoundly grateful to him.

ROGER B. MERRIMAN.

*Ignatius Loyola, the Founder of the Jesuits.* By PAUL VAN DYKE, Pyne Professor of History in Princeton University. (New York and London: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1926. Pp. vi, 381. \$3.50.)

THAT Professor Paul van Dyke is a thorough scholar and an accomplished writer had long been known to all students of the Renaissance

and Reformation. His latest work, though important, brings much less new material to the subject treated than did his biography of *Catherine de Médicis*, in fact very little that was altogether unknown before. But it is based on a wide and painstaking study of the original sources. In it is incorporated, in a new and excellent English translation, most of Loyola's autobiography, that "wunderbare Erzählung, wie sie nur aus langjährige Selbstbeachtung hervorgehen kann", as Fueter has called it (*Geschichte der Neueren Historiographie*, p. 282). Notable also is the source-work in the chapter on the corruptions of the Church, and in the chapter on foreign missions. On the other hand, when he wanders away from his immediate subject, Professor Van Dyke's treatment suffers by reliance on secondary works. Erasmus is quoted several times, once through Pastor, once through Bailey's loose translation of the *Colloquies*, and several times through the unreliable Froude, but never from his own works in the original. (The reference on p. 159, transferred from Froude, is corrupt). Much more might have been learned about the College of Montaigu than is given by Van Dyke, and this is important not only because Ignatius studied there but because the statutes of that college considerably influenced the *Spiritual Exercises*.

More notable than the author's generally satisfactory mastery of the sources is his novel point of view. He is right in claiming that, with the exception of Mr. Sedgwick's popular biography, his is the first sympathetic treatment ever accorded Loyola by a Protestant. To explain the ill odor in which the name of Ignatius has long been held not only by almost all Protestants and rationalists, but by many Catholics as well, Professor Van Dyke advances several reasons which hardly seem adequate. The greatest barrier to an understanding of Loyola he finds in the embittered controversies attending the suppression of the order in the eighteenth century. But the war on Jesuitry, even within the Catholic Church, had opened long before this time; indeed long before the *Lettres Provinciales* of Pascal gave it a powerful impetus. Every reader of Fouquieray knows that the Company of Jesus had excited the bitter hatred of many French Catholics even in the sixteenth century.

Nor can we explain the almost universal Protestant dislike of Ignatius by saying that he was a Catholic, for many great Romanists, as St. Francis and Sir Thomas More, have their warm Protestant admirers. Nor can we agree with the author that one reason for this dislike is that Loyola was a conservative and a reactionary, for many conservatives, from Clarendon to Disraeli, have their apologists. The real grounds for the almost instinctive antipathy to Ignatius felt by most fair-minded men at present are two not discovered by Professor Van Dyke. The first is that his religion was of a type which no longer survives among the educated, whether they be Catholics or Protestants. In the minds of even the most pious men at present an involuntary rationalism not only dampens credulity but chills emotional sympathy with the ecstasies of the visionary and the revivalist. Loyola was an "enthusiast" in the older meaning of that word; and most of our contemporaries have come to agree with

the Anglican bishop who declared enthusiasm to be "a very horrid thing".

In the second place, more than any equally great and good man who ever lived, Loyola was the spiritual "arriviste". Sincere, as Professor Van Dyke repeatedly urges, Ignatius undoubtedly was; but sincere in his own passionate resolve to make himself a great saint and to found a successful order. His biographer marvels that he should have shown reluctance to accept the office of general of his society, for he esteems him too frank to repeat a merely conventional "nolo episcopari". Of ordinary conventions Loyola showed himself sufficiently contemptuous, when they stood in his way; but here was a convention commonly taken as the very stamp of sanctity. If Dominic, to whom he was always comparing himself, had shown notable meekness, Ignatius must abase himself in an even deeper humility. So, in his directions to prefer recruits of high rank, in his insistence on obedience, in his constant jealousy of other orders and of his nearest friends and subordinates, we see the same purpose to succeed at all costs. Loyola was above all men the professional saint; and the professional saint has always made the gorge of the unregenerate rise.

Occasionally Professor Van Dyke attributes to the idiosyncrasies of his hero things that were common to his age. The biographer comments on the fact that among the aims of the Jesuit colleges the discovery of new truth is nowhere mentioned. But this failing was common to all the universities of the time. Francis Bacon noted it as a universal fault; nor was it remedied until the foundation of Halle at the end of the seventeenth century. Again, Professor Van Dyke asserts that Loyola's view of the world as "the scene of a continuous active combat between God and Satan was rooted in his early experience". But it was also the typical world-view of the age. Dr. Van Dyke is so sorely puzzled by Loyola's mystic experience of feeling transient indignation and disgust with God, that he "cannot even remotely imagine" what it means. Not only, however, could he have found close parallels to it in Luther's early monastic struggles, but he might have learned from students of religious psychology that it is a very common phenomenon. (A. N. Whitehead, *Religion in the Making*, 1926, pp. 16 f.)

For an important contribution towards the understanding of a great historical figure we are indebted to Professor Van Dyke. But, though he writes "sine studio" as well as "sine ira", he is too desirous of saying all that can be said in favor of his hero to paint a really convincing picture of him. In this respect Böhmer, both in his study of Loyola's early life, and in his fine work *Die Jesuiten*, which Dr. Van Dyke does not mention, is his superior.

PRESERVED SMITH.

*Forests and Sea Power: the Timber Problem of the Royal Navy, 1652-1862.* By ROBERT GREENHALGH ALBION, Ph.D., Assistant Professor of History in Princeton University. [Harvard Economic Studies, volume XXIX.] (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1926. Pp. xv, 485. \$5.00.)

THIS exhaustive study of certain factors generally neglected by naval historians covers chronologically the period between the First Dutch War, when the shortage of naval timber first became acute, and the engagement in Hampton Roads which brought sharply to the attention of the British Navy Board the fact that the era of wooden war-ships was over. Chapter I. deals in a semi-technical manner with the demands of naval architecture upon the forests—a highly specialized requirement as to size, durability, and, in case of “great” and “compass” timber, curved and knee pieces cut from oaks which were freaks of nature or artificially trained. Aside from original construction and replacement of lost ships, the ravages of storms, enemy guns, and the insidious dry rot necessitated constant repairs.

The timber problem was two-fold. England, rich at first in a peculiarly durable variety of oak, grew no suitable timber for tall masts and was largely dependent upon foreign or colonial products. A prejudiced, even sentimental, preference for English oak led to continuous exploitation of native forests. “Oak, like oil to-day, was a natural product very abundant at the outset but liable to ultimate exhaustion.” The oak needs a special soil and a century or more of growth to satisfy the requirements of naval shipwrights. Replacement for use of succeeding generations involves a foresight and consideration rarely noticeable in the Navy Board or even in private owners of timber land unmindful of Cicero’s advice to “plant trees to serve another age”. The quaint picture of Admiral Collingwood strolling about on shore leave with his pocket full of acorns to replenish the diminishing forests relieves a somewhat tedious narrative of neglectful, hand-to-mouth policy which characterized the Navy Board, not to mention the familiar tale of bribery and corruption which even countenanced a virtual “Timber Trust”.

The mast wood problem was solved by importations from the Baltic countries and the American dependencies, and, when these sources were cut off by war, by a frantic search over the whole world; but the worry over oak continued until the end. The treatment of timber shortage ranges over several extra-naval fields: civil service, diplomacy, colonial and foreign relations, maritime commerce, and the development of an effective forest policy at home and overseas. The author indicates as the chief value of his treatise the correlation of these various aspects of the timber problem and of their interrelationship. Six chapters dealing with the practical results of official shortsightedness take the reader behind the scenes, revealing anxieties and makeshift measures never fully sensed by the British public and affording a perfect example of the “muddling through” on the part of the government which time after time might

have spelled disaster had not superior British seamanship, the genius of a Nelson, or the weakness of the enemy averted the catastrophe. Britannia continued to rule the waves and on the whole to justify Ruskin's extravagant enthusiasm for the ships-of-the-line.

The discursive and repetitious character of Professor Albion's narrative may be justified to some extent by the difficulty of co-ordinating a mass of material drawn piecemeal from innumerable brief documentary sources and by the attempt to cover under one title so many aspects of a complex subject. In a book dealing with a more controversial thesis this chronological disjointedness and lack of cogency would be a serious detriment. The caption of the last chapter, on "Trafalgar and Dry Rot", is somewhat misleading, as only ten pages out of over forty deal with dry rot.

In spite of these defects of organization the book opens up a mine of auxiliary information to students of the naval history and foreign policy of the period and it should be of special value to those interested in economic geography and generally in the economic interpretation of history. There is an exhaustive, carefully annotated bibliography of the published and unpublished sources upon which the study is based, as well as of contemporary and recent secondary works. The half-dozen illustrations and maps and the statistical appendixes add value to the text.

ELEANOR LOUISA LORD.

*The British Navy in Adversity, a Study of the War of American Independence.* By W. M. JAMES, C.B., R.N. (London: Longmans, Green, and Company. 1926. Pp. xvi, 459. 25 s.)

ENGLAND has at last produced her own authoritative account of the naval side of the American Revolution. It was natural that the first thorough naval study of the contest should come from France with Chevalier's work in 1877, followed by Lacour-Gayet's lectures. Even Clowes called on an American, Mahan, to describe the major operations of the war for his co-operative history of the Royal Navy.

Captain James's analysis of the Admiralty correspondence gives us the British point of view with a thoroughness and fairness which should make it the standard work on the subject. The narrative of the whole conflict is clear and detailed, and he has included excellent character studies of the leaders. What is most important, perhaps, he has attempted to find the lessons of the war in studying the spirit and workings of the rival navies.

One wonders what might have been the fate of American independence if England could have blockaded the French and American coasts with the thoroughness which the Royal Navy showed in other wars of the century. The chief causes found by Captain James for the British failures were faulty strategy, inadequate equipment, and partizan rancor. The prime value of concentration of effort seemed lost upon Sandwich and Germain. The splendid legacy from 1759 had fallen into decay with

rotten ships, empty dockyards, and scattered personnel. Finally, the bitterness between Sandwich and the Whigs alienated some of the best admirals. Howe, Hood, and Rodney, while they were in command, saved the navy from worse consequences, but many important missions were trusted to incompetents. Altogether, Sandwich becomes the scapegoat for much of the failure.

Under such circumstances, one would have expected the French navy to take greater advantage of the British weakness than it did. Captain James reiterates that the great French drawback was the defensive spirit which permeated their regulations and actions. They also scattered their efforts and wasted the opportunity to keep England busier at home with their great Channel Armada. The Spaniards, however, were almost worthless as allies.

The military operations in America are described in detail to show the advantages which sea power could give in mobility and choice of objectives. The reader is impressed more than ever with the opportunities which Graves threw away in the Chesapeake before Yorktown. The perennial question of Rodney's failure to pursue after the Battle of the Saints is laid to gout and Captain James points out that the battle did not end the West Indian crisis.

The author's style is very readable, short paragraphs being a noticeable feature. The lucid battle-descriptions are enhanced by 28 "diagrammatic sketches" representing the actual ships in significant formations, much easier to visualize than the usual diagrams resembling rows of water-bugs. Fifteen excellent maps clarify the strategic situations, though the map on page 62 is deceptive in scale, bringing Philadelphia too near New York. The appendix contains 26 lists of fleets and squadrons, differing in a few minor details from the lists in Clowes.

There is no formal bibliography, the book being based principally upon the Admiralty instructions and admirals' despatches. These have been supplemented by the printed collections of the Barham, Hood, and Stopford-Sackville papers, by Chevalier and Lacour-Gayet for French material, and by details from Beatson's memoirs. Mahan is not mentioned in the work. One could wish that page-references had been included in the foot-note citations.

The Navy Board papers could have thrown some light on the interrupted mast supply which led to the scattering of Byron's squadron, delayed the projected relief of Yorktown, and hampered various admirals in all four theatres of the war. Aside from such minor slips as those on pages 45 and 310, the presentation seems to be accurate and thorough. The book is of a nature which should appeal to the general reader as well as to the specialist and the Royal Navy is fortunate to have the period of its "adversity" treated in such a competent and interesting manner.

ROBERT G. ALBION.



*Correspondance de Maximilien et Augustin Robespierre.* Par GEORGES MICHON, Docteur ès-Lettres. (Paris: Alcan. 1926. Pp. 334. 30 fr.)

IN 1910, the *Société des Études Robespierristes* began its ambitious programme of publishing the complete works of Maximilien Robespierre. Two volumes, containing his literary and forensic efforts, appeared before the war. Now, after a twelve years' lapse, comes this third volume, and more is promised for the near future.

The four hundred and seventy letters in this collection of correspondence have been arranged in chronological order, and tabled and indexed in the back of the book. They readily fall, however, into four groups. The group that can the most easily be dismissed, though it is by no means the least important, is one of about fifty-five letters sent by Maximilien Robespierre as a member of the Committee of Public Safety to the deputies on mission and by Augustin Robespierre as a deputy on mission to the Committee of Public Safety. With a few notable exceptions, they have almost all been published already in Professor Aulard's *Recueil des Actes du Comité de Salut Public*. Then, there are about fifty letters of a more or less personal nature written by Augustin Robespierre. They uncover nothing astonishing—simply that he was a faithful brother, a good patriot in the Jacobin sense, a brave, active, and unbending deputy on mission. The third group comprises almost one hundred personal letters of Maximilien. They reveal him as a studious youth, not without a sense of humor and the ability to turn a phrase to please the ladies, who grew up somewhat suddenly into a representative of the people, took himself and his duties very seriously, and soon found himself so important and popular that he could give small attention to personal correspondence. After May, 1793, there are only two letters of his of a personal nature; and for 1794 we have nothing but official instructions written by the member of the Committee of Public Safety. The letters of both brothers to their friend and neighbor Buissart furnish an interesting means of watching the events of the early Revolution with the eyes of important observers.

The remainder of the correspondence (more than half) consists of letters sent by others to the two Robespierres—for the most part to Maximilien. In certain respects these are the most important, since they paint a picture very different from the legendary Robespierre. There are letters from Madame Roland, Pétion, Treilhard, Mirabeau's sister, Hoche, Laharpe, and many others, expressing varying degrees of admiration. There are letters from groups and individuals among the imprisoned Girondins, thanking him for having interceded in their favor. There are appeals to his sense of justice and mercy (thirteen from Chabot alone) from victims of the Terror awaiting trial. For each of the three or four letters that threaten Robespierre, there are about a score that promise him love and devotion. The very last letter recorded is from an agent of the Terror justifying himself against Robespierre's reproaches

of overzealous severity. And this is the "sea-green monster" whom contemporaries and posterity were taught to regard as the incarnation of the Terror!

The great majority of these letters have been published in various places before and commented upon. Some of them, though generally only the ones sent to the Robespierres by unimportant correspondents, are here merely summarized or barely mentioned. Of the new letters, a few deserve special mention. There is one to Lambert, controller-general of finances in 1790, from Maximilien denying that he was the author of an incendiary letter attributed to him (pp. 59-63); a series of letters of the spring of 1790 dealing with the opposition to Robespierre in Arras led by Beaumetz (pp. 73-83); another series from Guffroy to the brothers, dating from August, 1791, on, describing events in Arras (pp. 120-123, 140, 232, 298); a group of several from Augustin to Maximilien (November and December, 1791, and April, 1792) on the former's activities and opinions (pp. 131-133, 143); a long letter of Maximilien to Gorsas (March 30, 1792) explaining his attitude upon war with Austria (pp. 140-142); another group to Maximilien from Pétion showing the friendships of the two men before the close of 1792 (pp. 114, 115, 147, 148, 152); a letter of condolence to Danton from Maximilien on the occasion of the death of Danton's first wife (p. 160); an appeal to the army (in Robespierre's hand) from the Committee of Public Safety that is worthy of Napoleon (pp. 202-203); instructions to Hentz, deputy on mission with the Army of the North, urging him to save Lille and Dunkirk and to avoid revolutionary excesses (pp. 224-225); a long report of Augustin to the committee on his activity in the department of the Haute-Saône as deputy on mission (pp. 255-261); a similar one of Fréron to Maximilien on Marseilles (pp. 263-265); and another from Mallarmé to Robespierre and Billaud-Varenes on Nancy (pp. 277-278).

The work of the *Société des Études Robespierristes* is being admirably carried on. They have a *parti pris*, but it is not necessarily an *idée fixe*. If Robespierre does not emerge from their studies with a halo, however, it will be his own fault and not theirs. The present volume shows splendid co-operation on the part of both of them toward this end.

LOUIS R. GOTTSCHALK.

*Battleships in Action.* By H. W. WILSON. Two volumes. (London: Sampson, Low; Boston: Little, Brown, and Company. 1926. Pp. xiii, 384; xiv, 337. 42 s.)

OVER thirty years ago Mr. Wilson published the first edition of his *Ironclads in Action*, the very appreciative Introduction to which was written by the greatest of all naval historians, Admiral Mahan. The work was called by its author "A sketch of naval warfare", but it has been accepted as a sound and standard analysis of naval fighting tactics by naval experts the world over. It carried the history of ironclads from their beginning in 1855 until 1895, or just before the Spanish-American

War, and was afterward supplemented by the same author's *Dowfall of Spain*. In his own Author's Note to *Ironclads in Action*, referring to Admiral Mahan's opinion, that for future guidance one should look rather to the experience of the past than to the experiments of the future, Mr. Wilson remarks that, "Without a great European war, an appeal to history alone can throw light upon these questions which agitate the naval world". It was therefore logical that he should wish to bring his treatise up to date, and this he has done in the present two large volumes, the compiling of which has been wisely delayed until the author was in possession of data, as for example, the volumes of the extremely important German official history, which were not available to earlier writers, such as Sir Julian Corbett. Mr. Wilson remarks that "the reports, journals, logs, and despatches on which the official histories are based are as yet, with some rare exceptions, inaccessible to the historian or to the public; but it may be hoped that sooner or later the splendid example of the United States Navy Department, in issuing the *Official Records of the Civil War*, will be followed here".

The first volume of the present work covers the period before the outbreak of the World War, but everything which appeared in the author's two former works "has been re-examined critically in the light of fresh evidence, and almost every page has been completely rewritten. A high degree of compression has been employed, yet it will be found, I think, that all the really important points are adequately dealt with". Without doubt this "high degree of compression" is the stumbling-block in the way of those writers who endeavor to do justice to a long and complicated series of events within the covers of a volume of three hundred or fewer pages. Fortunately for Mr. Wilson, while his book contains enough history and strategy to describe adequately the events leading up to, and the environment of, the actions he analyzes, nevertheless his theme is not sea-power or its effects, but tactics and the result of tactics and its allied themes, the effects and development of armaments, ammunition, and all manner of old and new naval instruments of offense and defense. And in general he has been entirely successful in his effort. Only occasionally does he traverse the limits he has so wisely set himself; as when he, no doubt justly, suggests that the United States might have utilized, at a much earlier date than it did, its excellently well-prepared naval forces, by throwing them into the war at once, instead of holding them back for political reasons, and thus saving the Allies immense suffering and loss, with a possibility of preventing the crisis of 1918, since Germany might have collapsed early in that year. Opinions such as these, whether true or false, have nothing, it would seem, to do with a technical work on naval fighting, and might with advantage be eliminated from future editions of this excellent work.

Mr. Wilson traces the introduction, growth to importance, and greater or less decline on account of counteractive inventions, of old and new engines of war; and the bitter and interesting battle between gun and armor is waged throughout the book, its last and perhaps most dramatic

phase being the sinking with all hands by the well-armed German battle-cruisers of the less heavily protected British battle-cruisers, *Queen Mary*, *Indefatigable*, and *Invincible*, at Jutland. Very clearly appears from this detailed account of the tactics of the various actions the condition of tradition-bound lethargy which possessed the British Admiralty from the beginning of the war. Not only did the curious but ever-present fear of attacks on the British littoral destroy the initiative which should have manifested itself in savage and repeated offensives against the German naval bases and communications, but the apparent lack of any authoritative advisory body at the Admiralty, such as the American General Board of the Navy, or of any planning-section, such as was established later at the American naval headquarters in London, placed a burden upon the First Lord and his chief advisor, the First Sea Lord, which led to inevitable delay and indecision. This became tragically evident in the muddled management of the Dardanelles operations and the vacillation and waste of precious time spent on Lord Fisher's pet scheme of opening the Baltic by means of a fleet of especially built vessels, as well as in smaller incidents like the torpedoing, all within an hour's time, of the British cruisers, *Aboukir*, *Hogue*, and *Cressy*, which, on account, as Mr. Wilson says, "of faulty dispositions, defective tactics, and grave Staff blunders", were left at the mercy of enemy submarines, the potentialities of which were singularly unappreciated at the time, in spite of many warnings. This deficiency in the British navy is clearly recognized by an author when he says (p. 322), "Almost every incident of the war demonstrated the need for a carefully organized staff, studying, not gunnery nor machinery nor fleet-tactics alone, but the science of war, in all its bearings, as an active, living and above all as a growing science". (Soley, *The Blockade and the Cruisers* (U. S. Civil War), p. 234.) In spite of Mr. Churchill's explanations (*The World Crisis*), Mr. Wilson agrees that Cradock was sent by the Admiralty to certain defeat at Coronel, much as Cervera was in the waters of Cuba, with the difference that Cervera's cruisers were Spain's best, while the assembling of a force sufficient to destroy von Spee's squadron was in the power of the Admiralty, as the victory off the Falklands afterwards proved. Coming to the greatest sea battle of all history, Jutland, the present work again shows, while expressing a high appreciation of the seamanship of the German commander-in-chief, how the latter, after inflicting much greater damage on the British than he received, extricated himself from what should have been complete destruction by the execution of a manoeuvre, the audacious "swing-round" of all ships engaged, which British naval oldfogyism had declared too hazardous to attempt. Again, at 6 P. M., when the opportunity for "a stunning blow, dealt by an enormous force arriving unsuspectedly, seemed to offer", the British scheme of tactics was not equal to the situation. Beatty had failed to report to Jellicoe the position and course of the Germans, though our author is inclined to blame rather the British system of tactics than the

commander of the battle-cruisers. The battle of Jutland was both a tactical and a strategical victory for the German High Sea Fleet, the practical destruction of which, well within Jellicoe's power, would have doubtless shortened the war by at least a year.

The lessons of the World War, the first fought "in three dimensions", on, above, and under the surface of the water, were many, but in general it may be said that, astonishing as were certain technical developments, the war was but the logical unfolding of the elements already in existence. Radio and aircraft have made scouting easier and prevented surprise attacks by large forces. The need of adequate armor, thicker decks, and bulges (blisters) on battleships for torpedo defense; sufficient aircraft, both with the fleet and on the coasts; a large number of light cruisers; besides an officer personnel in constant training—all these are obvious essentials, as our author points out. Significant also is the fact that he offers nothing to combat the classic formula, still held by most naval experts, that "the battleship is the backbone of the fleet".

EDWARD BRECK.

*Imperialism and World Politics.* By PARKER THOMAS MOON, Ph.D., Associate Professor of International Relations in Columbia University. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1926. Pp. xiv, 583. \$4.50.)

IMPERIALISM as the dominant factor in the international relations of the past half-century has been ably presented in this graphic survey of recent world politics. Fair-minded in a field unusually full of controversy, with a broad grasp of a wide range of facts, a scholarly use of material, and a clear and pleasing style, the author has given a well-organized and stimulating analysis of the causes and motives, and a history of the development and effects, of modern imperialism. The volume will be welcomed by instructor and student as a helpful guide in the effort to understand one of the most important and yet most perplexing of our world problems.

The opening chapters describe the decline of mercantilism, an earlier form of imperialism, and the following period of five or six decades, in the middle of the nineteenth century, when European statesmen no longer believed in the supposed benefits of colonies and dependencies. The causes which led Europe to return to its colonial ideals, and the development of this movement in each of the leading countries, beginning soon after 1870, are well portrayed. The greater part of the volume gives the history of the recent extension of the control of strong nations over the territories of the weak and the backward—in the main, a survey of the political and economic expansion of Europe. The last chapter, one of the best, gives an analysis and summary of the various aspects and problems of imperialism: the good and the evil, the conflicting interests and ideals, and the possible development in the future. To remedy the evils and to meet the problems of modern imperialism the author

presents no specific proposals, but he believes that the solution will be found through the gradual development of a more internationally-minded public opinion, and the creation of more effective forms of international co-operation.

It is to be regretted that in this admirable discussion there is no consistent definition of the subject discussed. In the opening pages imperialism would appear to be "appropriating the backward lands of Asia, Africa, the Balkans, and the Pacific" (p. viii); "imperialism . . . means domination of non-European native races by totally dissimilar European nations" (p. 33). But later on we read of "the more peaceful and subtle methods of economic imperialism, of investment and trade" (p. 364). Imperialism, it would seem, may be practised by one European state or its nationals in another European state. France is carrying out in Poland "a new imperialism of financial, economic and military patronage" (p. 465); "the scramble for concessions in Russia, beginning in 1921, may fairly enough be regarded as imperialism" (p. 466); while even the Dawes plan "perhaps . . . may be called imperialism" (p. 472). Somewhat surprising is the suggestion that the investments made in Europe by Americans since the war constitute "a very subtle and rarefied imperialism" (p. 471). As the term is used in this volume, imperialism has almost no limits; it is not restricted to the action of governments, nor to forms of control enforced upon an unwilling state, but it includes normal economic transactions carried on by private individuals at the urgent request of those in another country. Imperialism is indeed such a vital problem, and its discussion is usually attended by so much misunderstanding, often involving bitterness of feeling, that a clear definition of what the term means would be most helpful. It is certainly misleading to describe by the same word, imperialist, both the European statesman who plans cold-bloodedly to seize 1000 square miles of territory in Africa and the university instructor who invests \$1000 in a French government bond.

The need of a precise terminology is recognized when American imperialism is discussed. The United States, it is pointed out, has not been, and is not now, imperialistic in the European sense. Had it been so, it would long since have appropriated Mexico and the Central American republics. But during the past three decades there has developed in some measure, especially in the Caribbean, "a tendency to dominate for economic, patriotic, and humanitarian purposes lands unsuited to white settlement, lands already occupied by colored populations" (p. 413). In dealing with the perplexing problems of the Caribbean attention is centred so largely upon certain aspects of recent history that it is doubtful whether the picture of the aims and purposes of the American government will command general approval. Such an implication as the following will be challenged by many: "Huerta was regarded in Washington . . . as a tool of Lord Cowdray (Pearson), the British oil baron. . . . And accordingly Wilson decided not to recognize Huerta as president of Mexico" (p. 442).



Some slips are to be found, as is natural in a work covering such a broad field and presenting such an array of facts. France did not obtain a promise from China, in 1898, never to cede or lease the three southern provinces "to any power other than France" (p. 340)—although the statement is frequently so made—nor did any other great power receive "a similar pledge" (p. 340); China merely declared its intention not to lease the regions in question to any power. The United States did not "assign her share of the [Chinese] indemnity as a fund for the education of Chinese students in America" (p. 343), but only a part of this indemnity. The French delegate at the Washington Conference, 1921-1922, did not promise "to relinquish Kwangchow Bay" (p. 356), but only offered to do so provided the other powers should return all of their leased territories in China. Japan and China do not lie on the "eastern borders" of the Pacific Ocean, nor the United States and Canada "on the west" (p. 373). Germany did not purchase the Marshall Islands in 1899 (p. 389) but took them by occupation in 1885. The New Hebrides Condominium does not exist as of 1906 (p. 392) but has been altered by an Anglo-French agreement signed in 1914 and ratified in 1922. There were not five (p. 389) but three cables at Yap. The statement that "China may one day be . . . gigantic . . . as an industrial power" (p. 358) is not in accord with the most recent estimates of Chinese mineral resources.

Viewed as a whole, however, this volume may be regarded as one of the few outstanding works in the general field of international relations.

GEORGE H. BLAKESLEE.

*Wilhelm der Zweite*. Von EMIL LUDWIG. (Berlin: Ernst Rowohlt. 1926. Pp. 485. 4.80 RM.)<sup>1</sup>

THIS book is not the formal history of a man or of an epoch. It is rather a distillation of impressions created in the brain of a poet and philosopher by a process of speculation upon fragments of information gathered from a great variety of sources. The author is far from being a historian in the German sense of the word. He owes nothing to the professors of historical methodology. He is not unmindful of the necessity of documentation, and he makes plentiful use of it; but the subjective and merely personal character of much of its substance leaves a conviction in the mind of the reader that the writer has chosen his colors to paint a picture that was already in his mind.

As a writer Emil Ludwig belongs to post-war Germany, that Germany which we of the older time find it so difficult to comprehend as possible. No German before the war would or could have written this book. In 1903, at the age of 20, Ludwig found his themes in such subjects as "Tristan and Isolde" in the realm of poetic drama. Wagner, Goethe, and Bismarck in succession attracted his interest, and their personalities furnished the material of his analyses and interpretations.

<sup>1</sup> A translation into English, *Wilhelm Hohenzollern, the Last of the Kaisers*, has been published by G. P. Putnam's Sons.

Napoleon I. has appealed to him as a wonderful incarnation of the tides of influence we call destiny, and he has presented a portrait of the Emperor of the French far more complimentary to his character and genius than the estimate of the average Frenchman.

The author of this book is well aware of what he is doing, and frankly warns his readers that his writing is intended to be neither a general account of William's epoch nor the whole story of his life and influence. It is only a truthful portrait of William the Second which he aims to produce. He has represented him as a being unbalanced from his birth and further distorted by his education, predestined by the forces which shaped him to be an abortive ruler.

The flood of memoirs and the revelations of the Foreign Office supply the author with a plenitude of material for his purpose, the purport of which, he thinks, would be only slightly modified even by such a book as Prince von Bülow might write.

In truth, as he says, we know of William II. not too little, but too much. From the Kaiser's opponents, he declares, it is his purpose not to cite one word. In painting this portrait the colors have been taken wholly from the palettes of William's relatives and friends, his chancellors, his ministers, his generals, his courtiers, and his officials.

Regarding his method Ludwig is as explicit as he is about the sources of his data. He wishes to develop out of the personal characteristics of a monarch their necessary consequences in world politics. In the substratum of William's being he reads the fate of his people; and, to use his own expression, shows us what can happen when a mentally talented, bodily weakened youth, inspired with the best purposes, suddenly emerges to power from a life of hard experience, and finds no one to tell him the truth.

The three books into which this volume of 460 pages is divided, I., *Berufung*, II., *Macht*, and III., *Vergeltung*, picture a young man, badly educated, prematurely elevated to supreme power as he comprehended it, asserting his will against forces he does not understand, and fatally visiting upon his people the consequences of a stupendous error, in which they are not wholly without the fault of complicity.

We leave the book with the feeling that we have been in a dissecting room, and not without an irrepressible sense of pity that the autopsy had to be performed while the subject was still alive.

DAVID JAYNE HILL.

*British Documents on the Origins of the War, 1898-1914.* Edited by G. P. GOOCH, D.Litt., and HAROLD TEMPERLEY, Litt.D. Volume XI., *The Outbreak of the War, Foreign Office Documents, June 28-August 4, 1914.* Collected and arranged by J. W. HEADLAM-MORLEY, M.A., C.B.E. (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office. 1926. Pp. xl, 389. 10 s. 6 d.)

THE long awaited British Documents on the diplomatic crisis of July, 1914, contain 677 documents as compared with the 161 in the British

Blue Book of 1914. They include, in addition to the official correspondence, some very illuminating private letters of Sir Edward Grey, Sir Arthur Nicolson, Sir Eyre Crowe, and the British ambassadors abroad, as well as the marginal notes or "minutes" made on the documents at the British Foreign Office. The documents are edited with admirable precision and helpful notes and cross-references by Mr. Headlam-Morley.

From this new edition, it appears that most of the documents published in 1914 were paraphrased, presumably in order to preserve the secrecy of the cipher, and some two score were altered by the suppression of important phrases or paragraphs, aside from the documents which were omitted altogether. On the whole, one is impressed by the honesty and ability of the paraphrasing, considering that it was done under pressure within a few hours. It often consists merely in the alteration of the order of the words or sentences. Only in a few instances was the meaning essentially altered. For instance, Buchanan telegraphed July 25, Russia "secure of support of France, will face all the risks of war" (p. 94); the paraphrase introduces a doubt which Buchanan did not convey: Russia, "if she feels secure of the support of France, will face all the risks of war". This change of wording was probably made because the Blue Book of 1914 has suppressed a number of passages which show England's knowledge of the early Russian military preparations and the French determination to support her ally unreservedly. In this same telegram of July 25, Buchanan announced that the Tsar "had sanctioned drafting of Imperial Ukase, which is only to be published when Minister for Foreign Affairs considers moment come for giving effect to it, ordering mobilisation of 1,100,000 men. Necessary preliminary preparations for mobilisation would, however, be begun at once". Paléologue had said he had received a number of telegrams from Paris and "that no one of them displayed slightest sign of hesitation, and that he was in position to give his Excellency [Sazonov] formal assurance that France placed herself unreservedly on Russia's side". Paléologue had also "remarked that French Government would want to know at once whether our [British] fleet was prepared to play part assigned to it by Anglo-French Naval Convention. He could not believe that England would not stand by her two friends, who were acting as one in this matter". Buchanan concluded: "For ourselves position is a most perilous one, and we shall have to choose between giving Russia our active support or renouncing her friendship. If we fail her now we can not hope to maintain that friendly co-operation with her in Asia that is of such vital importance to us." Similarly, on July 30, about 6 P.M., Russia ordered general mobilization. Buchanan apparently sent the news of it at 6:40 P.M. (p. 218), that is, sixteen hours before the German ambassador learned of it. Though Sir Edward Grey was thus fairly fully informed of the Russian moves which would make a general conflagration inevitable, he did practically nothing to restrain Russia. He made many peace proposals and very carefully avoided saying anything which would encourage Russia and France, but he

refrained from exerting any moderating influence on them, such as Germany—too late—tried to exert on her ally. Had he done so, it is possible that Russian general mobilization might have been delayed and some peaceful solution been found. But the "minutes" of Sir Eyre Crowe and Sir Arthur Nicolson show that from the beginning they cast their influence against putting any pressure on Russia. Crowe wrote on July 25:

It is clear that France and Russia are decided to accept the challenge thrown out to them. Whatever we may think of the merits of the Austrian charges against Serbia, France and Russia consider that these are the pretexts, and that the bigger cause of Triple Alliance versus Triple Entente is definitely engaged.

I think it would be impolitic, not to say dangerous, for England to attempt to controvert this opinion, or to endeavour to obscure the plain issue, by any representation at St. Petersburg and Paris.

Downing Street was unwilling to say anything which might in the least jeopardize England's understandings with Russia in Asia or the solidarity of the Triple Entente.

Another group of interesting passages or documents which were suppressed relate to Anglo-French relations. When Sir Edward Grey, informed beforehand of the probable nature of the Austrian ultimatum through confidences of Count Lützow (pp. 39, 44), suggested that "it would be very desirable that Austria and Russia should discuss things together if they became difficult" (p. 54), President Poincaré in Russia rejected this suggestion for preserving peace: "A conversation *à deux* between Austria and Russia would be very dangerous at the present moment" (July 22, p. 62). Many communications from Sir Francis Bertie, the British ambassador at Paris, indicate his disapproval of M. Poincaré's policy of supporting Russia: "I do not think that if Russia picks a quarrel with Austria over the Austro-Servian difficulty public opinion in France would be in favour of backing up Russia in so bad a cause" (July 25, p. 99). The French government "should be encouraged to put pressure on the Russian Government not to assume the absurd and obsolete attitude of Russia being the protectress of all Slav States whatever their conduct, for this will lead to war" (July 27, p. 133). The French, however, appear to have counted confidently on British support, and they were sorely troubled when they found Sir Edward Grey adhering cautiously to his oft-repeated attitude of "hands free". M. Paul Cambon did not urge that there was any obligation of honor, but argued for Britain's self-interest. Aware of Sir Edward Grey's embarrassment on account of the uncertainty of the British Cabinet and British public opinion, the French announced their famous ten-kilometre withdrawal from the frontier, and M. Cambon admitted to Grey that it was "for the sake of public opinion in England" (p. 260). Even as late as the evening of August 1, after Germany had ordered general mobilization, Grey told Cambon "that France must take her own decision at this moment without reckoning on an assistance that we were not now

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in a position to promise. M. Cambon said that he could not transmit this reply to his Government" (p. 253). Grey waited until the German violation of Belgium and Mr. Bonar Law's assurances of support from the Conservative Party made it possible for him to follow his own conviction that, in view of the actions of Austria and Germany, England ought to pledge military assistance to France.

Attention may be called to more extended reviews of these British Documents by Professor Bernadotte E. Schmitt in *Current History*, March, 1927, and by other scholars in *The Saturday Review of Literature*.

SIDNEY B. FAY.

*The Naval History of the World War: the United States in the War, 1917-1918.* By THOMAS G. FROTHINGHAM, Captain, U. S. R. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1926. Pp. xii, 310. \$3.75.)

THIS is the third and presumably the last volume of Captain Frothingham's naval history of the great war, which may confidently be pronounced the best popular account of the naval activities of that colossal struggle, and the ideal work to place in the hands of anybody but a military expert. This is in no way to suggest that the volumes lack either technical information or any other feature necessary to give the reader a correct account, politically, strategically, and tactically, of the World War at sea; but it goes without saying that, in three volumes of three hundred pages each, a full account of such a protracted and world-wide conflict, even the naval side of it, can not be written unless it be filled with such a mass of drab detail as to make it unreadable for the average person. As an example of the omissions no doubt demanded by a lack of space, attention may be called to the activities of the American bases at Gibraltar and the Azores. These are indeed mentioned in this volume, which gives mere lists of the vessels stationed at each, but the book does not contain even the name of Rear-Admiral Niblack, who commanded forty-five vessels at Gibraltar, or of Rear-Admiral Dunn, who commanded at the Azores, omissions the more surprising because in the case of the Planning Section at the London headquarters, a minor bureau, even the names of the officers comprising it are especially mentioned.

Otherwise, there is little to criticize in this account of the American participation in the naval warfare of the World War, which tells in a very readable manner the interesting story from the standpoint of the American headquarters in London. Its strongest points are its sound judgment of strategical and tactical questions, and its omissions are no doubt made in the endeavor to provide the average reader with a clear and easily understood story of the conflict at sea.

In the author's second volume he made clear that the failure of the British to accept the given opportunity at Jutland of destroying the German High Sea (Battle) Fleet, and with it her sea-power, gave the

German leaders sufficient prestige to dominate thenceforth the whole military and naval situation in Germany; and while the destruction of the High Sea Fleet would have opened the Baltic, thus supplying Russia and preventing Swedish supplies from getting to Germany, and very likely would have prevented the development of the U-boats and thus shortened the war; on the other hand the preservation of the High Sea Fleet provided the physical ability to carry out the submarine campaign, which from that time on became the one great hope of the Empire. In this volume the author points out the unripe judgment of conditions, the over-confidence in their own traditional formulas, and the breakdown of their intelligence department, which led the Germans to risk the active intervention of the United States, and consequent certain defeat, at the very moment when Russia was on the verge of collapse, the revolution there actually breaking out in March, 1917, less than two months after the date set for the renewal of the U-boat campaign, February 1. Yet Hindenburg wrote concerning this period, "No intelligence had come through to us which revealed any striking indications of the disintegration of the Russian army" (*Aus Meinem Leben*). This ignorance of the fact that Russian resistance was practically nonexistent resulted in the maintenance on the Russian frontier of strong Austro-German forces which might have been of decisive influence elsewhere.

That in adopting the unrestricted submarine campaign Germany was simply gambling with fate was recognized by the civilian element, as is shown by the words of the German Chancellor in 1917: "The blockade must succeed within a limited number of weeks, within which America cannot effectively participate in the operations." But the military element, backed by the naval leaders, was blindly confident. "If matters came to a breach", said the chief of the German Great General Staff, Falkenhayn, "it was not to be assumed that America would make her influence felt in the war before the submarine campaign had taken effect" (*The German General Staff and its Decisions*). The chief of the Naval Staff promised that England would be ready for peace after six weeks (Admiral Tirpitz).

The Germans were not only unaware of the real spirit of the American people, but they shared with the bulk of the American people, including the press, ignorance of the fact that, at the end of 1916, the American navy was in exceptionally efficient condition, its leaders constituting almost the only element in the country which clearly foresaw participation in the war and had strenuously prepared for it, within the financial limits set. This readiness of the American navy as the war-clouds darkened is historically significant and too little known. When a popular scientific periodical complained publicly (1916) that the American battle-ships were supplied with fewer torpedoes per ship than the British, the actual fact was that the American ships carried ten each, while the British had but eight. It is true that the exigencies of the loyal co-operation of the American navy with the British caused the partial dislocation of this fine organization, which, before some of its elements were distributed,



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would have been more than a match for the German High Sea Fleet itself. The navy's intelligence office also proved to be an efficient organization, and its representative in Berlin was able to keep the American ambassador so well informed that, many months before the renewal of the undersea campaign, the State Department received word that "the rulers of Germany would at some future date . . . take up ruthless submarine warfare again, possibly in the autumn (1916) but at any rate about February or March, 1917", a most correct prophecy.

The first shock of the unrestricted U-boat campaign was so violent as apparently to justify German confidence. Admiral Jellicoe and Mr. Balfour were full of forebodings. Admiral Lord Charles Beresford almost despaired. The Allied Shipping Control has thus summed up the situation: "The opening success of the new campaign was staggering. . . . The continued rate of loss would have brought disaster upon all the Allied campaigns, and might well have involved an unconditional surrender." The first lists of sinkings were indeed staggering: February, 1917, 540,006 tons; March, 593,841 tons; April, 881,027 tons. It meant a loss in ocean-going vessels of one out of every four leaving the United Kingdom. Defeat might have come if the critical situation had not forced the adoption of the hitherto opposed system of convoy, which, greatly helped by the American naval units, eventually made possible the transportation to Europe of the American armies. Captain Frothingham well says that: "threatening as was the menace of the U-boat campaign, it was not the crisis of the World War. The actual crisis was destined to come when the collapse of Russia allowed the Central Powers to concentrate all their forces on the Western front, and to establish a military superiority that would have won the World War, if it had not been for the military reinforcement provided by the United States" (p. 25). The part of the United States navy in this reinforcement is well known. Besides taking over the patrol of all distant waters, thus greatly relieving the British, and playing leading parts in such important enterprises as the great ocean barrages and the convoying of supply vessels, it shared with the British in taking to France the American soldiers, 900,000 of whom were transported by the United States navy without the loss of a single man through an act of the enemy. The effect upon the Allies has been placed on record by Mr. Lloyd George: "I will tell you about America. She came into the war at a time when the need for her coming was most urgent. Her coming was like an avalanche. The world has never seen anything like it. Her great army of all ranks gave service that no man would, in 1917, have believed possible."

The volume is provided with six maps and three appendixes. A number of inaccuracies are regrettable, such as the repeated printing of the name von Hötendorf as Von Holtzendorf.

EDWARD BRECK.

*Die Geschichtswissenschaft der Gegenwart in Selbstdarstellungen.*  
Von Dr. SIGFRID STEINBERG. Band II. (Leipzig: Felix Meiner.  
1926. Pp. iv, 222. 12 M.)

THIS is the second of a series of projected volumes of professional autobiographies written by some of the leading historians of Germany and other countries of Europe. (Notice of the first volume was given here, XXX. 860-861.) The title is deceptive, for there is nothing either of historical criticism or method that the student can gather from a reading of these brief autobiographic memoirs. One can imagine the natural repugnance which certain men might feel to discussing their historical writings critically in a volume of this kind. This will go far toward explaining the random list of historians represented in this volume. While the first volume was composed entirely of German historians, the second includes sections written by G. P. Gooch of England and N. Japikse of Holland. The other collaborators in the present volume are: Karl Julius Beloch, Harry Bresslau, Victor Gardthausen, Ludwig Freiherr von Pastor, and Felix Rachfahl. Among these Japikse, Beloch, and Pastor easily stand out as having taken their task most seriously, the others offering little more than a scanty discussion of their published works. The book is illustrative of a regrettable shift of interest in historical studies in recent years, three of the seven historians having abandoned creative work in earlier periods for second-rate studies on pre-war diplomatic history. Rachfahl, who died since the publication of the book, will always be remembered for his monumental work on William the Silent, which, because of his later interests, remains a torso, and not for his jejune and diffuse studies on Germany and international politics since 1871. And who does not prefer G. P. Gooch's *Germany and the French Revolution* to the premature *History of Modern Europe, 1878-1919*? In this volume Dr. Gooch clearly writes for a German audience; he adds nothing which students of English-speaking nations do not already know of his work. The late Harry Bresslau, author of the *Jahrbücher* for Henry II. and Conrad II., long one of the principal collaborators in the publication of the *Monumenta*, discusses his long career spent in collecting documents, medieval chronicles, and manuscripts in numerous archives of Europe, but never venturing to set his hand to a more comprehensive task of historical writing. An indefatigable collector and editor of documents, he proudly calls himself the "last student of Ranke". The only contributor to this volume frankly critical of his own work is Karl Julius Beloch, the historian of Greece. A German by birth, Italian by education, Beloch has been professor of Greek history in the University of Rome for many years. The reader of his memoirs will be surprised to learn that his chief interest is in the history of population statistics in modern as well as in ancient times. He is now preparing a comprehensive study of the history of population of western Europe. The Dutch historian Japikse makes some illuminating comments on the state of historical writing in Holland in the last decade of the nineteenth

century when Fruin dominated the field. Since 1918 director of the bureau for the publication of Dutch historical sources, he has been editing the resolutions of the States General since 1576, thus continuing the work of the Belgian Gachard, and the correspondence of John de Witt. His claim to be considered as an historian rests principally on his study of John de Witt, the soundest study yet published on that great statesman, even if it is heavy and far from being perspicuous. After the war Japikse became a member of the Dutch delegation to the international commission of neutrals for the study of the "Kriegsschuldfrage". The failure of this commission to accomplish its task he attributes to the political motives which inspired Dr. H. H. Aal of Oslo to desire a revision of the Treaty of Versailles as a result of the study. Upon discovering this Japikse and the Dutch delegation withdrew from the commission.

The most instructive portion of the book is that written by Ludwig Pastor, who has consecrated the last fifty years (he conceived the project in 1873) of his life to his *History of the Popes*, which places him among historians such as Sorel and Gardiner who combined minute documentary study with writing history on a grand scale. Since 1886 he has been professor in the Catholic University in Innsbruck, a city geographically so located that he lived within half a day's journey of all the important archives of Italy. He was the first modern historian to explore the rich stores of the Gonzaga archives in Mantua and the Vatican archives in Rome. Since Augustin Theiner's breach of confidence in 1870 the Vatican archives had been hermetically sealed against all intruders without distinction. When Pastor made his first formal request to examine certain manuscripts Cardinal Nina replied that cardinals themselves were forbidden on pain of excommunication to enter the Vatican archives. Leo XIII. granted the request in January, 1879, in the face of the opposition of archivists and many cardinals. It was some years later that Leo XIII. remarked to Pastor in a private audience: "Non abbiamo paura della pubblicità dei documenti." No one could have made a more honest and fearless use of the permission thus granted to Pastor; his use of the shady private correspondence of Pope Alexander VI. may serve as a single example. No historian treading over the ground that Ranke and Creighton had trod before him has gathered so much significant material from practically all the important archives of Europe. Since 1920 Pastor has been Austrian ambassador at the Holy See and, as his duties are not burdensome, his *History of the Popes* is progressing more rapidly. The last volume, on Sixtus V., has just appeared. In his autobiography he assures us that a considerable portion of his *History of the Popes* until the year 1800 is already in manuscript.

WALTER L. DORN.

## BOOKS OF AMERICAN HISTORY

*America in Civilization.* By RALPH E. TURNER, Assistant Professor of History, University of Pittsburgh. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1925. Pp. xiv, 411. \$5.00.)

LAST December a letter appeared in the *Cornell Daily Sun* signed "Five Bewildered Freshmen". The freshmen said that although they had been in college more than two months, presumably engaged in the intellectual life, they didn't yet know "what it was all about". They wished someone to tell them. They merely expressed the cry of the bewildered in colleges generally, which, for some years now, has been growing more insistent; and as a result many colleges have established special courses designed to "orient" their incoming students. Professor Turner's book is designed as a text-book for such a course. Its aim is "to introduce the student to life as life has been disclosed by the natural and social sciences; to make him conscious of his relations to other people in society; and also to indicate to him how these relations happen to be what they are, and what the processes and forces affecting them may be".

To realize this aim the author attempts to make a real "synthesis" of present-day knowledge; a synthesis, not from a cosmic point of view, but from the point of view of American students, or others, now living. It is as if he had put himself in the place of a bewildered freshman. The freshman asks the professor: "What am I? Where do I come from? Why do I do as I do?" The professor then tries to answer these questions. To begin with there is a chapter which tells the student in some detail that no man lives to himself alone. Each one is part of many groups, all of which make up "society". Assuming that the student knows where he is, he is then told where he came from. It is explained that all animal life, of which human life is but the highest form, comes to be what it is through "evolution"—a process of adaptation to environment. This process, as biological evolution, explains how the individual comes to be the animal he is, and, as social evolution, explains how the groups of which he is part came to be what they are. What then are the general underlying forces that determine social evolution? They are three: (1) the physical environment; (2) the original nature of man; (3) the social heritage. Of these the first two are relatively fixed. The first provides the permanent conditions, while the second "sets the first needs and exacts the final satisfactions". The third is the essential variable; so that it is to the "social heritage" that we must look chiefly for an explanation of the various forms which civilization has taken in different times, and of the great progress which has been made since prehistoric times.

Thus the early chapters explain in general terms what the student is and where he came from. It remains to explain why he, being an American, acts as he does act. This is attempted in six chapters which take up, in order, the family, economic organization, education, religion,

political organization, and social values. The student learns why each of these is essential in social organization, and how each has historically developed into the particular form which is the American form. For example, in the chapter on the family, the student will learn something about the origin of the family, the matriarchal and the patriarchal family, the polygamous and monogamous family, marriage and divorce, the Christian sacrament, the civil contract, romantic love, the rôle of woman, the woman's movement, social hygiene, the child-welfare movement, eugenics, and much else besides. The other subjects are treated in the same way, from the point of view of their natural origin, their historical development, and their bearing upon modern society, especially American society. The author is widely read (so far as I can judge) in all these matters, he has reflected much, and he presents his matter judiciously, and in a style that, without being very easy, is yet not drily academic.

A course for freshmen based upon this book would naturally depend for its value chiefly upon the ability of the instructor. With a good instructor the freshman should learn much that it is worth while to know. He should, I think, be better "oriented" in life as it is revealed by the natural and social sciences. He might also be better prepared to enter later courses in many subjects. On the other hand, I should not be surprised if many freshmen, and those especially who are in any case most bewildered, would be even more at sea than before. The chief trouble would be that while the student would acquire scraps of knowledge about the history and present status of economics, government, education, and the rest of it, he would have a most vague and confused notion of the relations of these things at any time or place, not excluding America at the present moment. Take any chapter, such as that on political organization. Read by one who is familiar with the politics and history of Europe, it is intelligible enough, and may even be suggestive and illuminating. But read by a freshman who knows nothing of all this? I much fear it would strike him as a series of statements conveying but little meaning in themselves and scarcely more taken together. Besides, the student would have, I should suppose, a greater difficulty still in coordinating what he has learned in separate chapters about economics, politics, education, etc. Having studied the book to the end, his view of American society to-day would be, I should suppose, extremely vague and unsatisfactory. What a good teacher might do to help the student coordinate all this diverse information is another matter. I should guess, after reading the book, that Professor Turner would do a great deal.

I sometimes wonder whether it wouldn't be better to give an orientation course to seniors than to freshmen. The chief difficulty of orienting a freshman in the modern world of thought is the difficulty of orienting him in a country with which he is wholly unfamiliar in detail, or nearly so. To orient him in the country as a whole we necessarily take him to a high place. We say to him: "There you see the principal city; round about are other cities and many hamlets; connecting them all are various roads, leading thus and so; and yonder you see a rapidly moving van—

probably carrying hooch." But the freshman may say: "Hooch I know, but what is a city? What is a hamlet? What are roads?" We try to explain this. We tell him what a city is like. Not any particular city, but a city in general. Perhaps after all it would have been better to take him to the principal city itself and let him explore it for a while, and then find his way out into the roads. To be sure he might be run down by a taxi. But who knows a modern city until he has been run down by a taxi?

CARL BECKER.

*Soil Exhaustion as a Factor in the Agricultural History of Virginia and Maryland, 1606-1860.* By AVERY ODELL CRAVEN, Ph.D., Associate Professor of American History, University of Illinois. [University of Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences, vol. XIII., no. 1.] (Urbana: University of Illinois. 1926. Pp. 179. \$1.50.)

THIS book is much more than a study of soil exhaustion in Virginia and Maryland; it is a history of agriculture in those states covering the first two and a half centuries of their existence. The work is scholarly, the style good. Dr. Craven has filled, and filled exceedingly well, one of the many gaps in Southern history.

The book lays to rest the old belief that the blame for soil-exhaustion in Virginia and Maryland must be placed on the inherent shiftlessness of the men of the Old South. The remarkable advances made in the periods from 1790 to 1815, and from 1830 to 1860, he says, "indicate a degree of intelligence, energy, and capacity for progress that absolves the individual planter from a major part of the blame".

The planter was the victim of economic and political forces over which he had little control. The dearness of labor and the lack of capital in early days made it necessary to throw the burden of production upon the land. The problem was one of rapid spending, not of conservation. It was necessary to place an exaggerated emphasis upon the crop which first furnished the surplus by which exchange with other countries was established. The situation was made worse by the burdens of the Navigation Acts, and the high cost of indirect marketing and buying.

Dr. Craven, having pointed out the causes of soil-exhaustion, proceeds to describe the desolation which it produced—the decline in the tobacco trade, the impoverishment of the planters, the abandonment of farms, the lowered price of land, the migration to the West. He then takes up the story of recovery—the efforts of gentlemen farmers, with George Washington at their head, to introduce new methods of cultivation, the increased use of manures, the experiments with marl, lime, and guano, the purchase of better plows, the founding of agricultural societies and the publication of agricultural journals, the periods of failure and depression, the final success and the restoration of prosperity. "In no section of the nation and in no period of its history", he says, "were greater agri-



cultural advances made or greater difficulties overcome, than in Virginia and Maryland" in the years from 1790 to 1860.

Dr. Craven, usually sound in his conclusions, is upon unsafe ground when he cites the size of the land grants in Virginia in the seventeenth century to show the extent of the plantations. The land grants at this period were made almost exclusively in return for headrights. They were small if the patentee offered few headrights, they were large if he offered many. The statement that the small land "transfer often indicated the sale of the small holding to the great planter" needs verification. A careful study of the county records would almost certainly show the tendency to be in the opposite direction—toward the break-up of extensive grants into small holdings, as indentured servants became free and sought to establish themselves as independent planters.

But this is a point which to Dr. Craven's study is not of major importance. The work as a whole is admirable, and will be welcomed by all who are awaiting impatiently the time when Southern history can be rewritten in the light of careful investigation and sound scholarship.

THOMAS J. WERTENBAKER.

*George Washington, the Image and the Man.* By W. E. WOODWARD. (New York: Boni and Liveright. 1926. Pp. 460, xxxv. \$4.00.)

HERE is a book that will arouse interest and controversy. It is fascinating from cover to cover. There is dash in the volume, brightness of expression, not rhetorical eloquence, but a style that is direct, clear, incisive, with such suggestive expressions as remind one of the clever French style of historical writing.

As to controversy, there are passages in the volume which, if they can not be disproved, will be warmly disapproved by those who have such conceptions of the "Father of his Country" as are entertained by many of the conventional chapters of the Sons and Daughters of the American Revolution. Mr. Woodward does not attempt to reconcile these conceptions with the truth of history as he has found it in his evidence. The author anticipated that his book might prove to be sensational, but if this is so, he maintains that it is because a wholly false picture of Washington has been held up before the world for an hundred years, and that Washington has been lied about more persistently than has any other great American. If the author had followed that bent he might have produced a commonplace book, but he chose rather to play the iconoclast and produce a biography out of the usual order, which dispels illusions by portraying the failings and the mistakes of his hero.

Let us notice a few of the unfavorable, if not unsavory, phases of Washington's life here revealed.

The reader is informed that Washington married Martha Custis for her money—he loved her not. He was actually in love with Lady Fairfax, but as Sally Fairfax was married—the wife of one of his best

friends—the case was hopeless there; so Washington took a “practical” view of life and became happy with Martha, her children, her money, and her lands.

Washington was not a good general. That is, he did not know how to organize America for war. He favored the wrong kind of fighting force. He favored artillery too much, and pitted a poor infantry against a much better one. He had no initiative, all he tried to do was to prevent the British generals from doing what they attempted; for Trenton and Princeton, General Greene should have as much credit as Washington. Washington ought to have gone in more for cavalry and a bushwhacking warfare, such as Sumter and Marion carried on in the South.

Washington was dealing in “bunk” when he assured the Indians (in the French and Indian War, 1754–1755) that the very end the British have in view is to “secure your rights and recover the whole country for you”. Did Washington really think this—that the war was “to make the whole country safe for the Indian”?

Washington was not a man of ideas, like Jefferson or Franklin. He read but little, as little as the big business man of to-day, and was as much out of touch with the leading thought of his time. His leisure was given to hunting, card-playing, balls, the races, or the breeding of his hounds, horses, and mules.

Washington's mind, like that of a modern captain of industry, ran to lands, moneys, values. In the dark days of Valley Forge he wrote to John Parke Custis, “Lands are permanent, rising fast in value, and will be very dear when our independency is established”.

The author rejects, or explodes, the myths, as a matter of course. The Parson Weems cannot-tell-a-lie story of the cherry tree and the hatchet is “a brazen piece of fiction”. Weems's *Life* “is stuffed with this and similar fables”. The Isaac Potts story of his having heard Washington at prayer while kneeling in the forest at Valley Forge is dismissed with even less sympathy or reverence. “To any one who knows Washington the idea of this two-fisted fighting man going about bellowing in the woods is grotesque.” This is rather harsh, not delicate enough. It lets the pious patriot down with too much of a thud. Then he rudely brings up his evidence that Washington did not live at Potts's house at Valley Forge, as Potts claimed; that the headquarters account-books show the rent was paid to a Mrs. Hewes; that Washington was never known to pray in church; that his own pastor said Washington never knelt when there were prayers; that he never took communion in the church of which he was a member. This Valley Forge story was too crude, “a pietistic attempt to prove that Washington was a deeply religious man”. It succeeded, however, to the extent of getting itself on several bronze tablets.

There are satirical and caustic references to some of the heroes and heroic actions of the American Revolution. John Hancock was the prince of smugglers, with his warehouse full of uncustomed tea; and tea smuggling is put in the class with boot-legging. The author compares the

"Sons of Liberty" with the Ku Klux Klan—"alike as two peas". The K. K. raiders on the *Gaspee* were angered at the commission appointed to investigate. If a free people are not to be allowed to shoot a naval officer and burn a ship without being pestered by a commission, what is the world coming to? Friends of shabby Samuel Adams bought him a new suit, so that he could go in proper garb to the meetings of the Continental Congress. The Revolutionary soldiers were a rag-tag army in which the men talked back to their officers, a lieutenant was found doing the duty of a sergeant, and another shaving one of his men. Such soldiers represented one of the two classes in revolt, not the merchants, planters, lawyers, shipowners, distillers, but the common kind, the small farmers, the mechanics, the voteless and landless, those who later turned into the western upland democracy.

All this tends to make the Revolution appear as not a very heroic epoch. These phases of life tell but one side of the story, and if one sees these alone, or overmuch, he gets a distorted view of the times. One might sing a nobler strain of arms and the hero.

Mr. Woodward holds that Washington's political philosophy is simply that of the typical present-day banker; "he is for property first and humanity second". He gives lively character sketches of Jonathan Edwards, Benjamin Franklin, Jefferson, Hamilton, and Jay, the last of whom Mr. Woodward describes as a "third-rate statesman in a first-rate position". He tells how Hamilton wrote the Farewell Address. Of Hamilton's funding process he says he "paid the debt to the wrong people and turned the whole affair into a mere swindle".

In matters of judgment, interpretation, emphasis, and proportion differences of opinion may be expected, and there need be no quarrel. But in matters of fact we have a right to precision. The author would lead his readers to infer that Washington presided during the discussions of the Constitutional Convention of 1787, and, for that reason, took no part in the debates. The convention debates took place chiefly in committee of the whole, Gorham presiding. The President presided no more than the Speaker presides while the House is in committee of the whole. He speaks of the Northwest Ordinance as being put through by Jefferson in 1784, which prohibited slavery forever north of the Ohio. He mistakenly says that John Adams received a majority of the electoral votes for vice president in 1789. He did not need a majority. A searching critic may find other statements to which exception might be taken.

Certain shady incidents the author seems to enjoy rolling like a sweet morsel under the tongue. Franklin is instinctively a ladies' man, of the kind to whom women tell their troubles on first acquaintance—then comes more of that and worse. He makes much of mistresses and prostitutes with the army. He repeats some old gossip about Washington and Hamilton's illegitimacy, which he says is "a preposterous yarn without the faintest trace of evidence". Why repeat it? If such stories are false why not let them die? The Psalmist tells us that he who would stand in the delectable hill is one who will not *repeat* a slanderous tale.

That applies to a biographer. The writer deals too much with the seamy, ugly, unlovely side of life. It is not the function of the biographer or historian to preserve all matters of fact as if they were of equal value. Some facts are the "dross of history", of no more importance or significance than the battles of the kites and crows.

We find here a summary of Washington's qualities, as Mr. Woodward sees them. Courage was his most significant trait; he was honest, but he was shrewd, too, and while he would not cheat a man in any downright way, he would out-trade him if he could; he enjoyed the air of obeisance, liked to be haughty and reserved; he was undemocratic—a typical American in this, as our country is the most undemocratic of all the great free nations; he was vain, fond of adulation and power, disturbed by criticism, ashamed of his vanity and concealed it with an appearance of modesty; he was generous toward his enemies; he was of the executive type; he thought in material terms, and his spiritual life was dim; the inner significance of people and events was beyond his range; there was in him no humanitarianism—he let go his opportunity to rebuke South Carolina in the convention and speak against the slave trade. With all these defects the author concludes that while Washington was not a man of first-rate ability he was yet a "great man, not only great but very great. He held the Revolution together by his force of character."

Despite these words in recognition of Washington's greatness Mr. Woodward's book will provoke protest, because its pages are given more to revealing the weaknesses of Washington than his elements of greatness. The vitality and cleverness of the volume will add to the protest. The book will be useful in correcting unintelligent adulation, and it is one that American hero-worshippers need to read. It will not, however, affect the place in history of this greatest and most sagacious of the early Americans.

JAMES A. WOODBURN.

*New England in the Republic, 1776-1850.* By JAMES TRUSLOW ADAMS, LL.D., Litt.D. (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company. 1926. Pp. xiv, 438. \$5.00.)

THIS is an interesting and provocative book. In the preface the author defines the main theme of his book as "the continual struggle of the common man to realize the doctrines of the Revolution in the life of the community". And "a secondary topic throughout is the gradual growth of sectionalism, culminating at the time of the War of 1812, and its subsequent decline until New England became genuinely merged in the Union in the slavery struggle of the Civil War". It is impossible for a thoroughly inbred New Englander to accept whole-heartedly the conclusion found in a valedictory paragraph (p. 423) that "the section has always maintained a certain aloofness from national interests and the national life". At times this aloofness has certainly been noticeable in New England just as it has been in other sections. In so far as one rises from

a reading of Mr. Adams's book with a feeling that this attitude is peculiar to New England the impression is as false as the "old point of view which regarded all Puritans and all Revolutionary soldiers and agitators as saints and patriots".

Mr. Adams performs his best service in emphasizing the difference between the democracy of the Revolutionary period and that of the 1830's and 1840's, the latter being an "insistence on the rights of man as man, and not as a member of a class", in comparison with which "the doctrinaire equality-philosophy of the Revolutionary period seems narrow and coldly intellectual". This is accomplished in the first part of the book, the earlier chapters, especially, making a valuable study of the growth in true democracy and of its slowly changing character. The review of the political and social conditions following the Revolution is particularly satisfactory. The debt Mr. Adams owes and acknowledges to the manuscript thesis of Dr. Joseph Warren on the Shays Rebellion would seem to point to the publication of this document as highly desirable.

The last three chapters of the book deal with what may be considered as a history of manners and morals—a subject at all times full of peculiar perils because of the temptation to draw too sweeping conclusions from insufficient and too narrowly localized data. Judging from the extent and character of the sources quoted by Mr. Adams for these chapters one must render a verdict of "not proven". His charges of backwardness of New England in educational and industrial conditions and in connection with the slavery question leave much to be desired in fairness. No one can question the truth of the individual statements Mr. Adams makes on these matters and yet the impressions are on the whole misleading, for he seems to hold that New England's failures were due to unregeneracy and unenlightenment rather than to poverty, poor communications, and other material considerations. No doubt many little red schoolhouses were aesthetically uninspiring and no doubt the pupils then, as always, learned many undesirable things, but that "many teachers were low, vulgar, obscene, intemperate", etc., is an unjust imputation on thousands of faithful servants and on the public which supported them. That the rapid spread of machine production in the 1830's and 1840's united with a great influx of cheap foreign labor to produce unsatisfactory conditions in certain industries and localities is true, but that these conditions were anything like universal is not true whether of employers or employed. Mr. Adams draws a much too gloomy picture of New England industrialism as a whole. Finally as to New England's attitude towards the slavery question Mr. Adams seems to have depended almost entirely on extremely biased source-material and that relating to Boston and a few other localities, apparently giving little consideration to the inarticulate masses so soon to become articulate. One gets the impression that Mr. Adams thinks there was no anti-slavery opinion in New England except among the militant followers of Garrison. One is tempted to tell him of the action of the student body of Amherst College in 1837 when the institution was, next to Yale, the largest college in New England, in

voting to support the anti-slavery movement and being required by the faculty to rescind their vote. A two-year struggle ensued and was ended by the faculty acknowledging the righteousness of the student view. These students were mostly drawn from back-country families and it would be a fair assumption that they echoed in some degree the opinions prevalent in the communities from which they came. Furthermore it seems probable that Mr. Adams could have found record of other similar incidents if he had not been so determined to convict New England of extreme pro-slavery leanings. There is no doubt that earlier writers on New England have shown a tendency to magnify our virtues and minimize our vices, but should a thorough scholar in these enlightened days reverse the process? It is difficult to acquit Mr. Adams of the charge of bias in these matters, or to soften the judgment, even when he confesses (p. 423) that "perhaps at times in a reaction against the old point of view . . . we may have been tempted to stress the shadows rather than the lights". Because a generation of historical scholars less meticulous than our own has erred is certainly no excuse for us consciously to follow its example.

FREDERIC L. THOMPSON.

*Pinckney's Treaty, a Study of America's Advantage from Europe's Distress, 1783-1800.* By SAMUEL FLAGG BEMIS, Ph.D., Professor of History, George Washington University. [The Albert Shaw Lectures on Diplomatic History, 1926.] (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1926. Pp. xii, 421. \$3.00.)

THE author of *Jay's Treaty* has produced a companion volume that fully maintains his reputation for scholarly research, mastery of technique, and sprightly writing. Together the two books present a readable, well-documented, logical review of our early national diplomacy from the standpoint of material now available. We hope that the author intends to pursue with equal care the course of our negotiations with France for the same period. We should then have a fairly complete survey of our diplomatic beginnings, based on adequate data.

As in his earlier book, Mr. Bemis offers in this volume a suggestive subtitle: "A Study of America's Advantage from Europe's Distress, 1783-1800". In the course of his work the author frequently repeats this thesis in a convincing manner. As an instance his discussion of the Treaty of 1795 (chaps. XII. and XIII.) both in the text and in the footnotes shows that the signing of the treaty and its ratification two and a half years later proceeded directly from the fear on the part of Spain that her intimacy with France would bring upon herself the combined vengeance of Great Britain and the United States, unless the latter were persuaded to remain neutral through some substantial concession.

For the average reader a still more pertinent suggestion will be the proposed alliance between Spain and the United States. This proposed pact—to which France might also be a party—was frequently mentioned



by the Spanish diplomats during the later stage of the negotiations, and always with the proviso that the United States guarantee the rest of Spain's possessions in America. Possibly the self-denying features of this proposal alone would have made it unacceptable, but neither the Spanish representative in Philadelphia nor William Short, our minister in Spain, bestirred themselves to advocate it. In fact the latter took occasion to express a sentiment (p. 274) that might be added to the catalogue of warnings against entangling alliances. Mr. Bemis maintains with considerable plausibility that Washington had such proposals in mind when in his Farewell Address he warned his fellow-citizens against such commitments.

The Prince of the Peace, as the author conclusively shows, signed the treaty with Pinckney under the impression that the Jay Treaty either definitely established or distinctly foreshadowed an alliance between Great Britain and the United States. This he calls Godoy's initial mistake. The Spanish minister was no great diplomatic genius and any other incident might have served equally well to start him on the downward track. In this controversy, with the complications growing out of the Indian and frontier situation, Godoy was dealing with forces that were too much for him and for the government that he served. His yielding of the Natchez district was unavoidable and equally inevitable was the acquisition by the United States of Louisiana, the Floridas, Texas, and California. In the pioneer spirit of the American frontiersman was a force far more potent than the machinations of European diplomats.

Mr. Bemis lightens his study with many telling phrases and apt character-sketches. Wilkinson, "the conjurer of self-heroics", and the penman of "smooth-quilled vocabulary", is a case in point. The "peripatetic and leisurely Spanish court" will also appeal to one who has followed the long-drawn-out and tortuous course of Hispanic diplomacy. "Patience and Persuasion", which must both be employed in full measure in such negotiations, fittingly serves as the heading for two chapters. One is grateful for mention of Mrs. Jay along with her better-known but susceptible husband and of Gardoqui's elaborate but apparently not useless entertainments, and of his *douceurs* of live stock, including a jack for Washington's stables. Through the writer's skillful sketching Aranda, Godoy, Floridablanca, Jaudenes, and others become interesting and understandable personages and even the shadowy Carmichael takes on human, if not commendable, traits. Pinckney plays his titular rôle with becoming dignity, whereby he eclipses the heart-breaking efforts of Short. Nevertheless the latter co-operates loyally with the man who displaces him. In view of the really good work that Short had done it would have been permissible to associate his name with that of Pinckney in the title rôle.

The author has made extensive use of monographs covering his field. Possibly he might have been a little more generous in mentioning some of these in his foot-notes. Occasionally, as in the description of the so-called "Spanish Conspiracy", he still follows too closely Gayarré and

Green, instead of using the manuscript material that we should expect. Generally, he depends on manuscript material and his foot-notes show the value of Spanish transcripts in the Library of Congress. His judgment of George Rogers Clark in the period after the Revolution is evidently too harsh, although it is the conventional one. His conclusions with respect to Wilkinson and Sebastian will be confirmed but there is need for further investigation in archival material before attempting to determine the true status of other companions of this maladroitness pair. However, he shows that disloyalty to an imperfect union was not unusual among contemporary Western leaders.

There are five excellent interpretative maps, an appendix of fifty pages (including a valuable bibliographic note), and an adequate index. The book appears in the tasteful form in which the Hopkins Press has clothed the other volumes of the series, but there are many unfortunate typographical errors. Letters are lacking in words or are transposed, or there are errors or misspellings on pages 7, 112 (twice), 115 (twice), 124, 153, 174, 191, 291, 345, 368. The preferable date for the admission of Kentucky (p. 196) is 1792. "Deserted ally" (p. 260) should obviously be "deserting", "James Sevier" (p. 156) should be "John", and the "Pope's Bull of Tordesillas" (p. 175) represents a misplacement of the prepositional phrase.

ISAAC J. COX.

*The Public Life of Thomas Cooper, 1783-1839.* By DUMAS MALONE, Ph.D., Associate Professor of History in the University of Virginia. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1926. Pp. xv, 432. \$4.00.)

WHAT a man! "Watta life!" Such a bundle of paradoxes! Thomas Cooper, always interesting and stimulating, was too frequently irritating, with the result that probably but few of his contemporaries who knew him or merely knew about him were lukewarm or neutral in their opinions regarding him, for he was one of those men who have only ardent supporters and bitter enemies; to-day a student of his career, even with the advantage of being removed from Cooper by a century of time, is torn by conflicting reactions—at times entirely sympathetic, at times quite the reverse. Certainly no fair-minded student can dismiss Thomas Cooper with a slurring remark about fanatical wild-eyed radicals who simply make public nuisances of themselves, for even admitting his temperamental limitations and the tactical blunders in his political career, there is too much that is prophetic and permanently valuable in his political writings, to say nothing of his scholarly productions in so many fields of knowledge.

Putting together his writings and other activities as a manufacturer, student of law and legal education, judge, scientist, educator, religious controversialist, philosopher, writer on governmental theory and practice, humanitarian, professor, college president, economist, political scientist,

martyr, chemist, editor, mineralogist, geologist, physician, professor of rhetoric and belles lettres, and general scholar, the power and energy of his mind seem almost incredible. Probably no man of his generation had read more widely or could make greater display of erudition. Of course he could not show great creative originality in each of so many fields of thought and activity, but one can only marvel at his intellectual acquirements, his productivity, and his prophetic insight into the future course of thought in so many fields.

Always in trouble, in any community, Cooper is not of the type to make heavy drains on one's store of sympathy; he rather enjoyed a controversy in which he could enlist as a defender of *Truth*. No one so active and vigorous both mentally and physically, with so much egotism, self-assurance, and irrepressible combativeness could avoid or even desire to avoid serious controversies; to Cooper's credit, however, it should be recognized that nearly every controversy to which he devoted any considerable amount of his time and energy was one in which an important question of principle was involved. In such a long and always active life in so many different communities and environments in Europe and in America, it is not surprising to discover changes in viewpoint on even fundamental questions of principle; however, many inconsistencies in Cooper's thinking and activities which at first seem clear cut and damaging may upon closer study have their seriousness reduced by explanation, even to the point of saving the principle.

The author, Professor Malone, has done very well all that he professes as to his aims. We can only express gratitude for what he has accomplished and not complain that he has not done more, because the materials he had to use are so scattered, diverse, and, even though numerous, so tantalizingly incomplete. Of necessity this work is largely a series of reviews of Cooper's writings and the writings of his contemporaries to and about him; each review is well written and presented in its proper historical setting. The author confesses himself unqualified to discuss the more technical philosophical, scientific, and legal treatises by Cooper, but has described most of his political, economic, theological, and personal writings, in connection with the various movements and controversies of which they form a constituent part. At some points the reader may think that the book is not properly balanced, because some bits and phases of this varied career are better presented and evaluated than others; this impression, however, is perhaps in large part due to the character of the available material rather than to defects of the author's judgment. Though a few sections are dragged out to unwarrantable length, the periodic summaries and the conclusion at the end of the book are excellent.

The author has succeeded very well in depicting Cooper as his contemporaries saw him; indeed, the picture of the man himself has been made remarkably vivid, and the reader feels that he has learned to know a most fascinating personality—not always a delightful personality, but one whose uniqueness would be spoiled if the pleasing and annoying

characteristics were not compounded in just the proportion in which they are found.

C. S. BOUCHER.

*The American in England during the First Half-Century of Independence.* By ROBERT E. SPILLER. (New York: Henry Holt and Company. 1926. Pp. xiv, 416. \$4.00.)

"In almost every line of culture or economic thought the supposedly radical—almost savage—American was more conservative than his English brother." In these words Professor Spiller characterizes the point of view of American travellers in England during the first half of our national history.

Broad as this generalization is, it would seem substantiated by the memoirs, letters, and diaries of envoys and artists, students and philanthropists, business men and devotees of literature who sojourned for periods both long and short in England. Some were, indeed, displeased at the reception which they met with, others were highly critical of English manners and of Englishmen; but for England, the country, the home of their ancestors, and the origin of their culture, there was widespread admiration.

Despite the difficulties of travel many Americans made the voyage. Students were particularly numerous. The vogue of Benjamin West as a painter attracted young artists. To London and Edinburgh the American youth flocked for chemistry, medicine, and theology, the university in the latter city being particularly well attended. Apostolic succession drew many of the early bishops of the Episcopal Church to England for consecration. Quakers, philanthropically minded, toured England on evangelical missions. Business men sought to glean information in regard to the new industrial life centring about Manchester, Leeds, and Birmingham. And to the old country came also many men of letters.

The comparatively high state of material culture existing in England was the subject of much commendation, the commodiousness of the inns, the excellence of the highways, the extent of the shipping, the magnitude of manufacturing enterprises. But what pleased the Americans more were the monuments of England's past and the living lions of her literary present. It was not, however, Shelley, Keats, or even Byron whom they sought to meet, but Coleridge, Wordsworth, Hannah More, and, above all, Sir Walter Scott.

These Americans were, perhaps, not typical of their country. Our early envoys came almost exclusively from Virginia or Massachusetts, with an aristocratic tradition behind them. They might have been, and frequently were, violently republican; but socially they were more at home in London than in the Pittsburgh and Cincinnati of their day. And this was true also of men of letters such as Cooper and Irving. The former, it is true, violently assailed English manners, but he seems to have preferred them to those of his own countrymen; and "the com-

parative crassness and vulgarity of the American culture was even more abhorrent to him than the glossy hypocrisies of the old world aristocracy". As for the author of *Bracebridge Hall* and the *Sketch-Book*, England was a perpetual delight to him. But as Professor Spiller states: "The England which Irving described and made the permanent possession of his countrymen was an England which never existed outside the storehouse of his own whimsical imagination." He idealized the country before he ever saw it. It was to him *classic ground*.

A less visionary traveller was Benjamin Silliman of Yale. Science was his great interest, particularly geology. This drew him to the mining districts, which he thoroughly explored. As a teacher he also visited the Lancastrian school and noted with approval "the substitution of ear pulling and moral suasion for whipping". The traffic conditions in the London streets interested him more than the Abbey. He did not find the reserve of the English displeasing, but their ignorance of, and prejudice against, America annoyed him much. George Ticknor, afterwards professor in Harvard, also wrote extensively on his English travels. "Statesmen, actors, literary men and women all sat for his pen." The descriptions which he gives of Brougham, Hazlitt, Wordsworth, and Southey add greatly to the value of this book.

Certain Americans, less well known to fame, were far more critical of England than Silliman or Ticknor. English travel literature in America, having portrayed that country in none too glowing colors, met with a counter-attack, the leaders of which were William Austin, Mordecai Noah, and John Neal. These three laid about them with vigor, particularly in regard to English haughtiness and reserve. But in each instance certain things were found to praise in England—scenery, at any rate, if not men. And authors such as these were the exception.

We have Professor Spiller to thank for giving us a delightful and scholarly book.

WALTER P. HALL.

*The Life and Papers of Frederick Bates.* By THOMAS MAITLAND MARSHALL, Ph.D., Professor of History in Washington University. Two volumes. [Publications of the Missouri Historical Society.] (St. Louis: the Society. 1926. Pp. ix, 346, 343. \$10.00.)

THIS attractive publication covers in part the same field as the *Austin Papers* (*Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXX, 839). It treats of the early builders of the Middle West, as exemplified in the career of one whom fate and the field of effort left in a secondary place, but whose task and methods of performance help us to comprehend the early development of the region.

Frederick Bates (1777-1825) came into the westward movement, as did so many of his contemporaries, by way of military service in the Old Northwest. He resided at Detroit for a brief period, during which he engaged in business and held the positions of judge, receiver of public

monies, and land commissioner. In 1807 he became secretary of Louisiana (later Missouri) Territory, and he held this position until Missouri became a state. He combined with his secretaryship the work of land commissioner and recorder of land titles, continuing in these last-named functions until his election as governor of Missouri in 1824. He died in office the following year.

It was part of Bates's task to unravel the tangle of Spanish land grants and settle the bitter and occasionally bloody disputes over lead mines. Three times during his service as secretary he was also called upon to act as governor, just before the incumbency respectively of Meriwether Lewis, Benjamin Howard, and William Clark. In this dual capacity he had to deal with controversies left by the Wilkinson régime and the Burr Conspiracy, with general Indian problems and particularly with the difficult question of Indian trade, with the organization of militia, and with the establishment of local government.

Some of the letters and those of least importance are with departmental heads in Washington. The bulk of the collection is concerned with local routine affairs and the letters are detailed enough to afford considerable insight into prevalent conditions and methods. There is relatively little mention of momentous events or characters. The letters afford a few side-lights on the Burr Conspiracy, the War of 1812, relations with the Spaniards, and the election of 1824. They explain some phases in the local administration of Meriwether Lewis, whose course as territorial governor Bates emphatically condemns. There are random notices of Hull, Pike, Wilkinson, John Pope, and others who were incidentally connected with national happenings, but local land and mining disputes, petty territorial politics, and personal family letters fill much more space.

In the settlement of these numerous irritating questions, Bates, despite an occasional loss of temper, seems to have had uniform success. He administered affairs with absolute integrity, and at the same time shrewdly laid the foundation for an ample fortune. He knew how to deal with frontiersmen and, although frequently at variance with them and with his fellow-officials, he seems to have maintained his popularity, as is shown by his triumphant election as governor over General William H. Ashley. He maintained a peculiar attitude towards duelling, and his failure to greet Lafayette at the time of his famous visit seemed highly discourteous. Both incidents reveal an unfortunate rigidity of temperament, but nothing worse.

Professor Marshall has divided his material into sections corresponding to Bates's administrative activities, and begins the work with an excellent biographical sketch. The text is fully, not to say meticulously, edited and there is an adequate index. The editor, the Missouri Historical Society, Mr. William K. Bixby, whose generosity made possible this publication, and the others whose co-operation is acknowledged, are to be congratulated upon the production of this substantial contribution to the early history of an important section.

ISAAC J. COX.



*Origins of the Whig Party.* By E. MALCOLM CARROLL. (Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press. 1925. Pp. viii, 260. \$2.50.)

THIS monograph is a useful study of one of the most chaotic periods of American politics. It undertakes to trace from 1824 to 1840 the forces that combined to check the triumphant march of Jacksonian democracy. The text is well proportioned and based upon careful research. The author has utilized the standard printed source-material for this period, a fairly representative selection of newspaper files, and various of the available manuscript collections of contemporary correspondence. For certain phases the author's task has been lightened by available monographic material.

In the main the volume traces the political fortunes and manoeuvres of the ringleaders of the opposition to Jackson—first Adams, and then Clay, Webster, and the rest. An effective analysis is made of Clay's presidential candidacy in 1832, complicated by the peculiarly strong claims in certain quarters of Judge McLean, whose manuscript correspondence has been used with effect in this and other parts of the volume. There is a skillful presentation of the interplay of forces that threatened to detach Webster from the opposition immediately after his endorsement of Jackson's nullification policy. From 1834 on, the story, meticulously told, is the more familiar account of a heterogeneous opposition party, undertaking in its first presidential campaign to rally its full support about a group of candidates who made specific appeals to the various local Whig factions, undergoing further reorganization in 1837, and, under the lead of General Harrison, marching to victory in the famous "hurrah" campaign of 1840.

In this account the enigmatic Calhoun is assigned a minor and obscure rôle. This submerging of Calhoun probably explains the inadequate treatment of the forces that produced the "compromise" tariff of 1833. But the conspicuous weakness of the volume is to be found in the author's failure to trace the forces that stirred the average voter of this period, to tell how the rank and file of the Whig party felt about the various developments engineered by fate or by the ringleaders of the party. One regrets that the 227 pages of text could not have been expanded to cover some of the points that seem to fall within the province of such a study.

Thus, while the chapter on the period from 1824 to 1828 is an excellent analysis of the political forces—largely personal—that revolved about Adams and his Cabinet, it fails to meet the real need for a study of these same developments in their relation to the social and economic currents in the various sections of the nation, especially in the South. For example, references to the tariff from 1824 to 1831 assume that the forces that opposed Jackson were largely protectionist. A splendid opportunity was passed to trace the alignment of Southern planters with reference to the support of Jackson's candidacy from 1824 to 1832. Men like Willie P. Mangum of North Carolina in 1824 looked aghast at the political pretensions of the crude Tennessean, in 1828 joined the mob

that hailed him as a champion, and in 1832-1833 renounced their allegiance and became his most bitter opponents. There was all the more opportunity for a distinct contribution on the period before 1832, for which there was little matured research by others upon which one might lean. The present reviewer is all the more sensitive to this need because circumstances compelled him to begin his own study of the Whig party in the South with the year 1832.

ARTHUR C. COLE.

*An Autobiography of Abraham Lincoln, consisting of the Personal Portions of his Letters, Speeches, and Conversations*, compiled and annotated by NATHANIEL WRIGHT STEPHENSON. (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Company. 1926. Pp. 501. \$5.00.)

"An autobiography of Abraham Lincoln" is an arresting title. Mr. Stephenson, author of *Abraham Lincoln and the Union* and of a provocative study of Lincoln's personal life, uses it in a volume of 468 pages, exclusive of index and tables—and justifies its use. The book is modelled, so the preface frankly tells us, after Napoleon's autobiography, by R. M. Johnson.

Mr. Stephenson had rich material from which to make his compilation. There is Lincoln's captivating autobiography carrying him up to 1860, his many letters, his state papers and public addresses beginning when he was but twenty-three and continuing until his death, when he was fifty-six. Mr. Stephenson has added a few well-authenticated conversations and stories. The result is the man's own effort to account for himself, to express his feelings and views, to set forth his thinking, his hopes and fears, his faith and his mistrusts.

The book is helped materially by explanatory lines, separating the quotations at intervals and having the effect of titles in moving pictures. They not only carry the story intelligently to the reader but they give Mr. Stephenson an opportunity to hint at his own interpretation of the man. Through them he emphasizes his favorite theory that Lincoln first found himself in July, 1862, when he determined to use his authority over McClellan, that up to this time he had been a suppressed and hesitant character. But Mr. Stephenson has already quoted documents which show Lincoln dominating Seward, defying the important body of radicals by overruling Fremont, defying Congress by appointing a Democrat instead of a Republican as head of the Army of the Potomac, and holding himself in stern check while he gave McClellan the chance to prove whether or not he was the man to lead the army to Richmond. This is not a record of hesitation. The writer believes that Lincoln's exasperating delay in acting at this period was due to the conviction that a civilian executive should not interfere with a military commander until that commander had proved, both to him and the country, his inadequacy.

The method of handling personal material succeeds better than any biography in giving a vivid sense of the real state of the man's mind at

critical periods. Thus, at the opening of 1841 Lincoln was in deep depression over the breaking off of his engagement with Mary Todd; though he sets himself down as being "the most miserable man living" he is not too miserable to discuss politics in the same letter, to record that he had set his heart upon a certain appointment, and to fight hard and well against the passage of a bill that he did not like.

The multitude of questions which, throughout the Civil War, struggled for attention in his mind at every critical moment, comes out impressively in this handling. Take July of 1863:—Shall he let Alexander Stephens come to Washington? Why had Meade let Lee escape into Virginia after defeating him at Gettysburg? Is there treason at work? Is Grant the coming man? At all events let us give thanks for our victory at Vicksburg. He must consider the new draft, the bad political situation in Missouri, how to placate a general who had gone from the White House in a huff because the President did not see him at the moment, where to find postmasterships for widows whose husbands had fallen, how to keep Mrs. Lincoln in good temper, the complications that the Emancipation Proclamation has brought, where to explain, how to interpret. There was no rest for his mind.

The book is impressive. Few men have written so little that is mean or common. Lord Charnwood's comment that Lincoln's letters prove him a gentleman is admirably supported by Mr. Stephenson's autobiography. There is one letter in it which challenges this judgment, a letter which he wrote to his friend, Mrs. Browning, in regard to Miss Owen, who, after a completely disinterested courtship on Lincoln's part, had declined his offer of marriage. It is a crude and unworthy letter. Mr. Stephenson has wisely included it, as he has everything that we have of Lincoln's that can be criticized. That is, it is an honest, not a hero-worshipping book, and a book which is not only a convenience but an illumination for Lincoln students.

A repetition of material occurs in one case, the same quotation being used on pages 10 and 78. One begrudges the space when there is so much of interest left that might fill it.

*The Overland Mail, 1840-1860.* By LE ROY R. HAFEN, Ph.D.  
(Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark Company. 1926. Pp. 361. \$6.00.)

THE title of this book suggests post-riders, stage-coaches, highwaymen, and Indian depredations. The book has a good deal to say about all of these things but it is not to be associated with Visscher's *Thrilling and Truthful History of the Pony Express*, Mulford's *Bar 20* stories, or other Wild West literature designed for consumption along the Atlantic seaboard. Mr. Hafen has treated the Overland Mail as a "promoter of settlement" and as the "precursor of railroads" and he has brought out a serious and instructive book.

The *Overland Mail*, as the author conceives his subject, is the story of the transportation of the mails on all available routes to the Pacific Coast

in the twenty years before the completion of the transcontinental railway. The ocean mail, by way of Central America, to the Pacific Coast, 1848-1858, is the beginning of the story, and the overland stage service on the central route by Fort Bridger and Salt Lake City, to 1869, is the end. It is a narrative of rivalry between northern and southern routes, of expansive frontier confidence not always accompanied by sound business judgment, and of courage and determination in overcoming physical obstacles.

The most instructive chapter, in so far as the main currents of American history are concerned, is that dealing with the Butterfield Overland Mail through Texas, New Mexico, and Arizona to California, from 1858. This was the first serious attempt to establish an overland service, and it registered the success of those who denounced the ocean mail and the Panama Railroad as gigantic monopolies which could be broken only by the establishment of a competitive route. The author sees in the selection of the southern route from St. Louis and Memphis through El Paso, Tucson, and Los Angeles to San Francisco, an example of the dominance of the South in national affairs. The northern or central route through South Pass, Salt Lake City, Carson City, and Sacramento to San Francisco was followed by most of the emigration and it was hoped by many that it would be selected as the principal stage route to the Coast. The adoption of the southern route was the occasion for abuse, derision, and lamentations, but the contractors initiated and maintained a successful stage carriage to the Pacific Coast.

The history of the Overland Mail would not be complete without an account of the Pony Express from 1860. The story of this spectacular and interesting enterprise is well told and is told in proper proportion. Exception might be taken to the conclusion that the Pony Express "demonstrated the practicability of the Central route and marked the path for the first trans-continental railroad". The path was there and various factors contributed to the selection of the route of the first transcontinental railroad.

Not the least valuable contribution is an excellent map of the overland mail routes in the period under treatment. The bibliography, while not critical, is useful and instructive. The book as a whole tells a straightforward story and contributes not a little to a clear understanding of transcontinental communication before the coming of the railway.

J. P. BRETZ.

*Our Times: The United States, 1900-1925.* By MARK SULLIVAN. Volume I. *The Turn of the Century.* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1926. Pp. xviii, 610. \$5.00.)

MR. SULLIVAN'S book is the first volume of a projected four-volume history of the United States during the first quarter of the twentieth century. Although entitled *The Turn of the Century, 1900-1904*, it compares and contrasts many aspects of life in America in 1925 with similar events and tendencies during the twenty-five years following 1875.

Despite the fact that Mr. Sullivan's main interest is in social and economic events, a considerable fraction of the book is expended upon the usual details of political and constitutional history. Here the novelty of his treatment consists of a somewhat racy and journalistic style and development, and in bits of gossip and opinions from "insiders" on affairs of state. It is apparent that the author has taken great pains to have many of the chief political actors read his manuscript, with the result that his treatment has a refreshing reality. (See for example the note concerning the effect of Bryan's personality on his followers, p. 111.)

By all odds the most characteristic portions of the book are those relating to the economic, and, more particularly, the social history of the period. Into this portion is packed a mass of miscellaneous information. There are accounts of shifting styles in sport clothes for women, illustrated by pictures from the *Ladies' Home Journal* of 1890 and 1899; the artistic work of Gibson and Remington; the best sellers in American fiction; the sayings of Mr. Dooley; the works of Laura Jean Libbey; Beadle's Dime Library; the stage in the '90's, and so on. Here may be recovered "Casey at the Bat", the high bicycle, "Daisy, Daisy" (with the music), and a picture of the, now obsolete, cigar-store wooden Indian.

A suggestive chapter is XVI., on Some Contrasts and Changes—1900 to 1925, contrasting styles in bathing suits, hair, dogs, and other necessities. Chapter XVII., on a Modern Warrior, emphasizes the part of Gorgas and other pioneers in the work of suppressing the yellow fever and malaria. Chapter XII., on Admiral Dewey, perhaps gives more space to that worthy (thirty-five pages) than is strictly his due.

Mr. Sullivan meets the same difficulties that confront all writers of social history. One such difficulty is a scale of evaluation. Admitting that the changes in styles of women's hats are great, are they important? The answer which Mr. Sullivan gives is as follows: "Consumers who were drummed and herded into fear of being out of style as to clothes and hats, came to fear to be out of style in thought. Individualism, strength of personality, came to be more rare. . . . It is little wonder if the spirit of quick change from style to style came to affect some of life's spiritual and aesthetic aspects" (pp. 409-410).

The other chief difficulty in handling social history is the task of relating facts to one another and to the rest of the account. In many cases Mr. Sullivan is able to string his facts on threads, although in general not relating one string to another. In the last fifty pages, however, he merely lists "Other Events" in 1901, 1902, and 1903. Typical items in these lists are the death of Queen Victoria, the triumphal progress of Carrie Nation, the records of trotting horses, Roosevelt's luncheon for Booker Washington, Mark Twain's attack on Christian Science, and the employment of women ushers by the Majestic Theatre in New York.

Mr. Sullivan would probably be the first to admit that his volume is suggestive rather than final, path-breaking rather than road-building. As such it is both entertaining and important. Less valuable as a text-book for use in college classes, it will prove to be a stimulating book of reference

to which students may be sent for a variety of subjects which have commonly received too little attention. (And in this connection, it is to be hoped that the publishers will produce a "student edition" at a lower price than \$5.00.) Not everybody, perhaps, would agree to the justice of giving more space to

Off agin, on agin,  
Gone agin—Finnigin

than to an election of Congress; perhaps there are people who would not agree with Mr. Sullivan in questioning whether Mr. Harding was as important a figure in American history as Mr. Ford; or whether the discovery of a remedy for diabetes promoted human happiness as much as the thirty-one years of Henry Cabot Lodge in the Senate; or whether the acquisition of the Philippines was of less consequence than the increased effectiveness and abundance of fly-paper and window screens. But whether historians agree with Mr. Sullivan or not, they ought to be forced to consider those questions at least. A reading of this book will compel that much—and that is doubtless Mr. Sullivan's purpose.

CHARLES R. LINGLEY.

*The Letters of William Roscoe Thayer.* Edited by CHARLES DOWNER HAZEN. (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1926. Pp. xii, 441. \$5.00.)

IN 1881, only six months after graduating from Harvard College, Thayer wrote to a friend that he was making a special study of Italian history from 1848 to 1870, and added (p. 25), "I mean to make myself master of it sooner or later". In 1888 he wrote, again in a letter, that victory, meaning one thing in war and politics, means another in life, namely (p. 59), "a habit, not any particular achievement". With Thayer the life-long habit of work, generally under heavy handicaps, was synonymous both with victory and with particular achievements.

Although this collection of his letters, assembled in a sympathetic and illuminating setting by Professor Hazen, holds specimens that seem, in their importance, hardly to justify inclusion, it holds also, and in far greater number, those intimate, personal expressions of Thayer with respect to the interests, literary, social, and political, from which the responsive reader may construct a faithful image of the writer and the man. "An historian without prejudices", wrote Leslie Stephen apropos of Macaulay, "has always hitherto meant a writer without imagination". Thayer, who began his authorship as a poet and continued through life to long for fuller poetic expression of himself, was certainly not "a writer without imagination". His letters reveal him as a painstaking searcher for the facts of history and biography. But "the Ph. D.'s standard" was repugnant to him. "I believe", he declared (p. 192), "as earnestly as any of them in the need of thorough research,—only I make the collection of material the *beginning* and not the *end* of the historian's task."



If he did not invariably appear as "an historian without prejudice", he believed himself sincerely impartial. An ardent temperament made him as intensely a Mugwump in his earlier days as he became a follower of the Republican leaders after 1916, when, for the first time in his life, he voted the Republican ticket (p. 286). Possibly nothing less impelling than his opposition to President Wilson's policies would have brought him to such a step; but, once he had taken it, he exhibited the proverbial zeal of the convert. When some of his war-time papers were collected in a little book, *Volleys from a Non-Combatant*, he could look upon them, slightly cooled, and confess (p. 366), "When I wrote—when the volcano was in eruption—I had to wear an asbestos shirt". Burning within, he accepted without question the prevalent beliefs in Wilson's "vindictive degradation of Wood", and in Senator Lodge's having "floored a Pacifist who had struck him in the face". In the interest of history it could be wished that foot-notes had set the reader right in these two matters, the second of which can not be adequately covered without a reference to the article, "Not Strictly Accurate", in the *New Republic* of May 24, 1919. Minor matters of editorial oversight are apparently to be found in the printing of Mayor for Meyer (G. von L.) on page 176, and John Muirhead for James F. Muirhead on page 278.

The book as a whole presents an indomitable figure, winning notable victories over the handicaps of disabled nerves during the long preparation of the *Cavour*, and of gravely impaired eyesight from 1915—when the biography of John Hay was nearing completion—until the end of Thayer's life in 1923. The courage and spirit of it all were worthy of a later Prescott or Parkman. The manner in which Thayer turned from his disappointment as a Harvard teacher of one year only into a long-continued service of his college as editor and interpreter commands equal admiration. If his handicaps impaired the permanent value of his later work, the habit of victory in the man was confirmed by them, and a profound respect was added to the affection of his friends.

M. A. DEWOLFE HOWE.

*A History of New Mexico.* In three volumes. By CHARLES COAN, Ph.D., assisted by a Board of Advisory Editors. (Chicago and New York: American Historical Society, Inc.<sup>1</sup> 1925. Pp. xlviii, 586; 523; 506. \$25.00.)

In the preface of this work the author states that he deemed it of paramount importance to adhere closely "to a plan which would give proper emphasis to the Indian, Spanish, and American phases of New Mexican history". He therefore "divided the space in proportion of two, three, three, between the subjects". This division of subject matter, however, applies only to volume I., which alone of the three volumes is historical in character. The last two volumes contain biographies of living New Mexican citizens. The reviewer has, therefore, confined his observations to volume I.

<sup>1</sup> Not to be confounded with the American Historical Association. Ed.

The subject matter of volume I., irrespective of consecutive chapter-divisions, falls into four distinct parts, or divisions, each of which contains a comprehensive bibliography. In the first division, comprising only chapter I., the physical features of the Land of New Mexico are described. In the second division, comprising chapters II.-IX., inclusive, the culture of the sedentary Indians of New Mexico; the historic and prehistoric pueblos; the nomadic Indians of New Mexico; and the Indian policies of Spain and the United States are discussed. In the third division, comprising chapters X.-XVIII., inclusive, the history of New Mexico is narrated from the time of the earliest Spanish explorers until the establishment of United States military government in 1846. In the fourth division, comprising chapters XIX.-XXXII., inclusive, the history of New Mexico under military rule, during the Civil War, and as a state since 1912 is narrated; its economic, cultural, and political development since 1846 is discussed; and the system of Spanish and Mexican land grants and the governments of New Mexico down to 1925 are described. An unfortunate arrangement consists in having the bibliography for this fourth division near the middle, instead of at the end of the division.

The author makes no pretense to having made any notable contributions through original research to the literature relating to New Mexico, and his name appears in only one bibliography as the author of a brief monograph on "The County Boundaries of New Mexico" (page 437). On the other hand he has summarized with commendable proportionate emphasis the recognized standard authorities on New Mexico in the light of recent scholarly investigation in the fields of archaeology, ethnology, and history. Volume I., as a result, supplants earlier similar efforts in this direction as the most reliable general summary to date of the cultural, historical, and economic development of New Mexico.

While the author in his narrative has taken into account the contributions of the recent outstanding monographic studies relating to New Mexico, occasional ones have been overlooked. For example, the reviewer takes issue with the statement on page 194 that the "false nature" of the Freitas *Relación* of 1662 "is not an established fact". The alleged expedition of Peñalosa to Kansas in 1662, which the Freitas *Relación* purports to narrate, is, in the light of documents collected by Bandelier and made known within the last few years, clearly demonstrated never to have been made, an earlier quoted statement by Bandelier to the contrary notwithstanding. In the bibliography for New Mexico under the United States, 1846-1924, omission is noted of the *Papers of James J. Webb*, edited by Professor Bieber. In the light of these papers it seems that the brief paragraphs on pages 379-380 might be expanded to an advantage. For the earlier period it is the author's misfortune and not his fault that the recent monographs of Professor Mecham relating to the Rodríguez and Espejo expeditions, and those of Professor Hammond, now being published in serial form, which relate to the Oñate expedition, were not available at the time when he was writing.

In the last chapters, particularly those dealing with the economic and educational developments since 1912 and the establishment of counties since 1879, the author was, in many respects, pioneering. An abundance of detailed statistical tables and facts in the latter chapters add to their usefulness for reference purposes but decrease correspondingly the readability of the chapters. The mechanical work upon the book is exceedingly poor. A number of pages are printed twice, and that the index immediately follows the table of contents strikes the reviewer as a most irregular arrangement.

Despite some deficiencies, the judgment used by Professor Coan in the selection and use of his authorities is such that there will be no occasion to write another such general summary of the cultural and historical development of New Mexico until much more scholarly research has been made relative to that interesting and romantic state.

CHARLES W. HACKETT.

*A History of C. Brewer and Company, Limited, 1826-1926.* By JOSEPHINE SULLIVAN. (Boston: Walton Advertising and Printing Company. 1926. Pp. xiv, 193.)

*A History of Hawaii.* By RALPH S. KUYKENDALL, with introductory chapters by HERBERT E. GREGORY. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1926. Pp. x, 375.)

If, for purposes of this comparison only, we think of the Hawaiian Islands as a colony, it may fairly be concluded that no other colony in all the modern world of colonies has been so fortunate in the character of its settlers and citizens. All sorts of people went there. The struggle for existence was fierce but in an astonishingly short time there emerged a substantial group of people notable for their public spirit and civic sense. By easy stages they assumed the economic, social, and political leadership, greatly to the benefit of the people generally. Perhaps there is no better proof of the quality of the older generation than that their children to the third and fourth generation delight to conserve the records and honor the memory of their forbears. A healthy historical interest, something far wider and deeper than the mere enthusiasm of the genealogist, has developed. The result has been the assembling in Honolulu of some remarkable collections of historical records. There one finds, in addition to the government archives, the George R. Carter Library (now the property of the Hawaiian Mission Children's Society), the library of the Hawaiian Historical Society, and the Bernice P. Bishop Museum.

The private papers of individuals and commercial houses supplement these larger collections, the effect being to make an island village out in the Pacific Ocean prospectively an important centre for historical study not only of the Hawaiian Islands themselves but also of several larger historical themes such as the history of the Northwest and California

Coast, international policies in the Pacific Ocean, and even some phases of the Far Eastern question. It is these collections which have made possible the two books under review.

C. Brewer and Company, Limited, starting at about the same time as Russell and Company of old Canton, is comparable with the more famous firm for its importance in shaping the growth of American economic and political development in the Pacific. Russell and Company in time bled to death, but Brewer and Company, for reasons very interesting to analyze, grew stronger with each new generation. The story is told in an interesting manner in a book which, though printed privately, ought to find its way into historical libraries. The chapters on the development of the sugar industry and its relation to the question of reciprocity with the United States are especially useful.

The *History of Hawaii* has a double interest for historical students. It replaces Alexander's *Brief History* which was first published in 1891. The second interest lies in the fact that it is designed to be a text-book for the public schools and that as such it was prepared under the direction of the territorial government, which owns the copyright. The obvious intent of the book is to leave undisturbed the dying embers of old racial, political, and economic animosities and to develop what might be called "Hawaiianism". This purpose, entirely proper and necessary though it may be, leaves the historical student often with too slender clues to the underlying causes of the political and social upheavals which followed one another so rapidly through the second half of the nineteenth century. However, the book is very useful. There are three introductory chapters on the geography and ethnology of the islands by Dr. Herbert E. Gregory of the Bishop Museum, and twenty-seven chapters on the history from 1778 to date by Ralph S. Kuykendall, executive secretary of the Historical Commission of the territory. Mr. Kuykendall had the benefit of a knowledge of the archives of the Department of State and while the scope and purpose of the book offers little or no opportunity to use this material the reader may have the assurance that the writer wrote from a full knowledge of the facts. The illustrations in the text are especially to be commended. They comprise reproductions of many little known pictures of the highest interest and give to the book an added historical importance.

TYLER DENNETT.

*Documents relating to Canadian Currency, Exchange, and Finance during the French Period.* Selected and edited with notes and introduction by ADAM SHORTT. Two volumes. [Board of Historical Publications, Canadian Archives.] (Ottawa: Public Archives. 1925. Pp. xci, 1127. \$3.00.) [Another title page reads:]

*Documents relatifs à la Monnaie, au Change, et aux Finances du Canada sous le Régime Français.* Choisis et édités avec commentaires et introduction par ADAM SHORTT. Two volumes. [Bureau des Publications Historiques, Archives du Canada.] (Ottawa: Public Archives. 1925. Pp. xci, 1127. \$3.00.)

IN these two volumes Canada, through Dr. Adam Shortt and the Bureau of Publications of the Historical Archives, has set an example to scholars and to other countries which they may well emulate and will find it difficult to equal. They have furnished an example of that "spade-work" by which alone can adequate history be produced. In this case the documents cover the experience of Canada with money, exchange, and finance from the beginning to the end of the French régime; indeed, they convey important material for the monetary history of France herself. What France did in the New World was only a part of her policy at home in regard to coins, paper money, and banking.

Although the documents begin with 1654, Dr. Shortt sketches the economic history before that date in the first part of his introduction, which in 57 pages presents an outline of the period down to 1764. The Indians, the fur trade, the sporadic colonial settlements, the Company of One Hundred Associates, Champlain, the founding of Quebec and Montreal, the lack of coinage, and the development of bills of exchange to avoid the risks of loss on the seas, are described before the ordinances of the council began in 1654. At that time in France, when there were no fixed ratios between gold and silver, and foolish attempts were made to keep both metals in circulation under the idea that money was scarce and trade needed both metals as well as foreign coins, the coinage was completely disorganized. Meanwhile the value of silver was falling, and adding to a monetary confusion not understood by the authorities. They tried to solve the difficulties by endless and futile attempts to adjust the ratios between the gold and silver coins. They did not know that the damage was being done by Gresham's Law. The end of these futile edicts came nominally, but not actually, on October 7, 1755, an edict permitting metallic exports; but mercantilism and the fear of exports of coin still prevailed. These conditions in France explain the many ordinances put forth in Canada trying to change the ratings of the money since 1654. But, in addition, the scarcity of coins in Canada led to an increase of their ratings far above those in France.

The natural scarcity of a medium of exchange (apart from the absence of a stable standard of prices) in a new country led to the use of beaver skins, moose skins, wheat, and the overrated copper coins, the *sol* and *liard*. Some money came in with the troops, but, as Canada owed France, coin tended to leave the country. The conditions, therefore, were ripe for the introduction of some currency that was unfit for exportation. Louis XIV. was engaged in costly wars and no great sums could be spared for Canada. Hence the birth of the card money, the characteristic monetary evolution of Canada. It was, however, only a form of fiat money so

often resorted to by bankrupt governments in all ages in all parts of the world. When King Perdiccas of Macedon, at war with the Chalcidians, having no silver money, made a supply of cheap coins with a copper core wherewith to pay his troops, he was setting an example to the Intendant Demeulles, of Canada, who, in 1685, unable to buy food for his troops, resorted to the issue of card money as a temporary means for paying his small army. He was not a financial expert; he was not providing a medium of exchange. There was no paper, no printing materials, but playing cards were abundant and thus became a "sport" in the many kinds of forced issues. They occasioned surprise and were condemned in France; but in 1690, when supplies again fell off, they were again issued. It is the first step that costs. In 1691 they were put out as a medium of exchange. Temporary treasury notes were then first issued to take up the paper money; but card money continued. Being irredeemable, the cards depreciated, and prices, of course, rose. Champigny (1700) was reprimanded, and replied that he would gladly withdraw the card money, would the king supply a substitute. Then romantic Acadia issued card money. Raudot defended it in 1706: the cards being worthless, and their credit depending on the good-will of the king, they kept the people attached to the crown! By 1712 the finances were in wild confusion (*cf.* vol. I., p. 223). At the close of the war, ended by the Treaty of Utrecht (1713), the card money amounted to 1,600,000 livres. The national credit had virtually disappeared, and promised redemption of the cards by the home government remained unfulfilled. One attempt to redeem the cards at one-half their face value in 1715 failed. (For various proposals see vol. I., pp. 235-263.) Finally, on July 5, 1717, through the General Council of Marine, a declaration of the king brought about a redemption of the cards at one-half their value in three annual installments, 1718, 1719, and 1720. All card money not presented after the last date was declared worthless. Thus ended the first period of a picturesque experiment in paper money. Poisoned by the virus of inconvertible money, however, Canada had repeated outbreaks of card money from time to time even unto the end of the French régime. Orders drawn on the colonial treasury at Quebec, together with bills of exchange and card money made three different kinds of media of exchange. Strange to relate, card money even replaced coined money. Later the notes were regularly printed on paper (vol. II., p. 768).

To one interested in money and banking the Canadian material relating to John Law (1671-1729) is important. His *Banque Générale*, founded on the principle that prosperity varied with the abundance of money, controlled the Company of the West, to which was given in 1717 the monopoly of the fur trade in Canada. On December 4, 1718, Law's bank was converted into the *Banque Royale*, administered in the name of the king. For a time the Canadian bills of exchange drawn on the treasurer-general of marine, if accepted by Law's bank, became current in France to the great relief of Canadian commerce. In 1719 Law was at the height of his power. Realizing began at the end of that year, and the end came



when Law was obliged to leave France in December, 1720. His schemes might have temporarily aided Canada, but one can hardly say that "The basic features with reference to both the bank and the company were quite sound and worked admirably" (vol. I., p. lxiii). The documents covering Law's relations with Canada (see index) are worth careful attention. Indeed they, with the thorough notes added, become necessary literature for the history of Law in addition to the work of A. McFarland Davis and Levasseur.

Especially noteworthy are the numerous biographical notes on every man of importance during this period, such as Bigot, Bégon, Champigny, Aigremont, Frontenac, Gaudion, Hocquart, Law, Raudot, Vaudreuil, and many others. The index is worthy of all praise. There is a reproduction of a bill of exchange, 1758, as frontispiece, six of card money and printed notes, and Murray's proclamation, 1766.

The documents, the introduction, and the notes, all are presented in both French and English, on opposite pages.

J. LAURENCE LAUGHLIN.

#### MINOR NOTICES

*Religionsgeschichte Europas.* Von Carl Clemen. Erster Band, *Bis zum Untergang der Nichtchristlichen Religionen.* (Heidelberg, Carl Winters Universitätsbuchhandlung, 1926, pp. viii, 383, paper, 17 RM., cloth, 19 RM.) At last we have in comparatively small compass a bird's-eye view of the religions of Europe in their historical development from earliest times down to the supremacy of Christianity and the disappearance of the earlier faiths. The book is divided into three parts, (1) The Pre-historical Period, (2) The Forerunners of the Indo-Germanic Peoples, and (3) The Indo-Germanic Peoples. The prehistorical period is broken up into its several sub-periods, and from the archaeological remains coming from these an attempt is made to determine what may have been the nature of the religion in each of the several periods. Here the author is working in what is practically a virgin field, and speculative as his conclusions must be, they are in no way bizarre, but founded on a very thorough study of the material at our disposal. Amongst the forerunners of the Indo-European peoples, we have a discussion of the religion, not only of the Aegeans and Etruscans, but of the less-known Ligurians, Iberians, and Finno-Ugrians, which is another field that has been little worked. Here, however, the author has been able to add little to our knowledge. The major part of the book is naturally devoted to the religion of the Indo-European peoples, both in its earliest form with the ancestors of these peoples, and in its later expression with the Greeks, Romans, Scythians, Thracians, Celts, Germans, and Slavs. At the head of each division of the book is a fairly complete bibliography, not only of German writings, but of French, English, and Italian as well. The author has done a prodigious amount of reading in the preparation of his work and shows an acquaintance with English and American writings that is unusual

with German scholars. Apart from the bibliographies there is frequent reference to the literature on the subject in numerous foot-notes, and over a hundred illustrations add very much to the value of the work.

By way of criticism there is little that can be said. The subject-index is too slight to be of much use, and this is to be regretted. In a work of this kind a complete index with cross-references would have greatly enhanced its value. In the bibliographies one wonders at times why certain books are included and others omitted. Most of those that one would expect in the bibliographies and does not find there are referred to in the foot-notes, but a number find no mention in either place. For example, in the discussion of the Greek religion there is no reference to the writings of Gilbert Murray and Jane Harrison. In a work covering such an immense field one can expect little more than an outline, but a better introduction to the subject could not be found. The whole field is placed before the reader, much new ground is broken, parallels with other religions are noted, and the subject in all its aspects is handled in most scholarly fashion. A second volume covering the religions at present existing in Europe (exclusive of Christianity) is promised for the near future.

THEOPHILE J. MEEK.

*Emporos, Data on Trade and Trader in Greek Literature from Homer to Aristotle.* By Heiman Knorrninga. (Amsterdam, H. J. Paris, 1926, pp. 144, 2.90 gulden.) This dissertation on ancient trade and traders is in the main a compilation of citations from Greek poets, philosophers, and historians. Its fifteen chapters, ranging from Homer to Aristotle, contain a mass of material not easy either to systematize or to check. There is a running commentary, summaries of recent books and articles, and discussion of the various problems involved. To bind the whole together we have an index and frequent cross-references.

Among other things, the author attempts to "ascertain the nature and extent of trade as well as the circumstances under which it was carried on". As a collection of material from specific authors the work is valuable, but the very limitations of the material ought to have kept the author from generalizations about points such as Athenian relations with the Pontic region. His attempt to formulate a middle position between Beloch's and Bücher's conflicting views on the nature of Greek trade, though sane, lacks conviction because of incompleteness of the evidence gathered by him. The historical fragments, I think, are not cited once; and epigraphical and archaeological material, even if not included in the scope of the work, might well have been used illustratively.

Mr. Knorrninga is at his best when he discusses the attitude of his selected group of writers toward trade, and the meanings of words like *ἐμπόρος* and *κάπηλος* in their works. He concludes (pp. 114 ff.) that the word *ἐμπόρος* means either traveller, as in Homer, or "trader to foreign parts", and on page 67 he protests against the translation "wholesale dealer", which he thinks is the one ordinarily given.

I have noted a number of typographical errors, both in the Greek and in citations, three of which are on page 25; but on the whole the book is reasonably free from mistakes of this sort. On the other hand, the laudable attempt of the Dutch author to make his Utrecht dissertation available for study by foreign scholars has resulted in many and varied peculiarities in the English.

This collection and interpretation of material on the foreign trade of the merchant and the local trade of the *κάπηλος* is welcome. Mr. Knorringa neither adopts nor formulates extravagant theories. He sees the necessity of close study of the sources, and he is ready to form his own conclusions.

ALLEN BROWN WEST.

*Greek Papyri in the Library of Cornell University.* Edited with translations and notes by William Linn Westermann, Professor of Ancient History, Columbia University, and Caspar J. Kraemer, jr., Assistant Professor of Classics, New York University. (New York, Columbia University Press, 1926, pp. xx, 287, \$10.00.) Fifty-six papyri of the Ptolemaic and Roman periods are included in this volume. They consist of business documents (including three new Zenon documents), census documents, and letters. Three of them have previously been published: no. 1, a record of lamp oil, by Westermann in *Classical Philology*, XIX. (1924) 229-260; no. 9, a contract with castanet dancers, by Westermann in the *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, X. (1924) 134-144; and no. 20a, a declaration of land for the census of 302 A. D., by Goodspeed in *Mélanges Nicole* (1905), pages 187-191, and again in Mitteis and Wilcken, *Grundzüge und Chrestomathie der Papyrskunde*, I. ii., no. 229. In all three cases the present edition should supersede the previous ones, by reason of improvements which it offers in text, translation, or interpretation. The papyri included in the volume throw light upon the organization and methods of the Egyptian bureaucracy, the taxation system, census-taking, money-lending and business organization, the system of land-ownership and leases, transportation charges on the Nile, agricultural methods and agricultural products (one document settles the question as to the existence of sheep-raising in Egypt), wages, prices, etc. There are some interesting data on page 112 regarding the spread of literacy in Egypt in 302 A. D. A fact of interest to New Testament lexicographers is the occurrence of the noun *ἀμφιβολεύς*, in the sense of "fisherman", in no. 46. The editing is on the whole excellent, barring a few obvious misprints and imperfect citations of references. There are thirteen indexes of the type usually found in papyrological publications, but the historical student would welcome just one more, an index to the points discussed in the very full and excellent introductions and notes with which each document is provided. Almost any investigator in the field of ancient social or economic history will find something to interest him in these introductions.

D. McF.

*The Historia Augusta, its Date and Purpose.* By Norman Baynes. (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1926, pp. 149, 7 s. 6 d.) According to Mr. Baynes, the *Historia Augusta* is not, as the dedications of some of the lives to Diocletian or to Constantine seem to indicate, an early fourth-century composition, but is in fact disguised propaganda intended to further the policies of Julian the Apostate (361-363 A. D.). Thus the "good" emperors are especially praised for the virtues and measures most characteristic of Julian, or of his administration; and prominence is given to the real or fictitious ancestors of individuals conspicuous in his age. Moreover many perplexing passages in the *Historia Augusta* can be explained as references to conditions in this period.

Mr. Bayne's arguments are learned and ingenious, but they hardly possess sufficient probative force to win acceptance for a theory that seems on *a priori* grounds improbable. A fundamental objection to his thesis is that he assumes that Dessau, in the famous article (*Hermes*, vol. XXIV.) in which he asserts the *Historia Augusta* to be a Theodosian "forgery", succeeded in proving it to be later in date than the early fourth century. But even if we suppose with Mommsen that the *Historia Augusta* has suffered a later re-editing and retouching, a strong case can be made for the view that it is in the main what chronologically it appears to be (cf. *Die Scriptores Historiae Augustae*, and the other publications of Hermann Peter). So many of Dessau's supposed anachronisms have been satisfactorily explained by Mommsen, Klebs, Lécrivain, and others, that the suspicion arises that the rest could be as easily disposed of, were our source-material and our knowledge more complete. Until the entire *Historia Augusta* has been thoroughly tested by the archaeological evidence, it will be wiser perhaps to maintain a conservative attitude toward its "higher criticism".

WILLIAM D. GRAY.

*Essai sur l'Histoire Antique de l'Abyssinie.* Par A. Kammerer. Ministre Plénipotentiaire. (Paris, Paul Geuthner, 1926, pp. 198, 60 fr.) The kingdom of Abyssinia, little known to Europeans a century ago, has, with gratifying results, been made an object of study and research among an ever increasing number of scholars. In consequence of this broadening interest the need is now felt for some books, free from the technical apparatus of scientific investigation, which will offer a somewhat popular outline of the present condition of knowledge in this particular field. Such is the aim of the *Essai sur l'Histoire Antique de l'Abyssinie*. Mr. Kammerer states quite frankly that he writes, not for specialists, but for the educated layman who desires to satisfy his intellectual curiosity about Abyssinia without being obliged to delve into intricate reports published in various languages, often inaccessible, and generally very expensive. His purpose was to compose for the reading public a brief, though complete, manual of ancient Abyssinian history from the first century B. C. to the beginning of the Mohammedan Empire, and he has performed his task in a very creditable manner. He

groups together the principal data from which conclusions may be drawn; he shows that a few names and dates have been definitely established, that solid hypotheses have been built about others, and that, in some cases, a meagre hint from a coin, an inscription, or other source, suggests a valuable guess. He has very conscientiously sifted all the available material and successfully condensed it within a few short and interesting chapters. The bibliography is exhaustive and up to date, including books and articles as recent as the spring of 1925; yet no mention is made of M. Chaine's *La Chronologie des Temps Chrétiens de l'Égypte et de l'Éthiopie* (Paris, Geuthner, 1925), which, in part, covers the same field.

In five annexes Mr. Kammerer quotes at length and discusses classical texts referring to Abyssinia and Arabia; he describes the 29 Aksumite coins in the Cabinet des Médailles, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris; and he outlines the important archaeological discoveries made in the regions south of Aksum by the Capuchin missionary Father Azaïs, 1923-1925. The reference value of the book is enhanced by a very complete alphabetical list of proper names, an analytical table of contents, four excellent maps, and 45 beautiful reproductions of photographs. We regret, however, to meet with an occasional historical conclusion hastily inferred from insufficient evidence; here and there, too, a slight confusion or crowding prevails in the grouping of data. Again, the exact place of the illustrations in the text is nowhere indicated. But these are minor defects; altogether, the author has contributed a valuable reference-book which should appeal to every student of Ethiopic lore. The specialist, too, will be delighted to have at hand a very readable and trustworthy compendium of the early history of Abyssinia, the land of the Negus who claims descent from King Solomon and styles himself the Lion of the Tribe of Judah.

*The Origin of the Right of Fishery in Territorial Waters.* By Percy Thomas Fenn, jr., Assistant Professor of Political Science in Washington University. (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1926, pp. xiv, 245, \$4.00.) The chief merit of this doctoral dissertation is to suggest that current theories as to rights of sea-fishery were fully stated in the controversies of the seventeenth century and to indicate the literary sources of the theories enunciated in those controversies. The study is, however, planned on the premise that theories of law and politics can be profitably studied as such and without reference to the related political issues or the legal procedure. To this premise the reviewer can not accede; in the present instance it seems to have vitiated the perspective and value of the author's work.

Thus, confining reference to the first two chapters, dealing principally with the Roman theories, the confident assertions of the author on pages 3 and 11, supported by unprobative evidence, that the doctrine that the sea was *communis* was a traditional Mediterranean view, are accompanied on page 7 by the assertion that in the legislation of the Greeks there was no doctrine on the point! On page 9, the *Edictum Perpetuum* is de-

scribed as containing edicts relating to maritime commerce and navigation of the "usual" sort, but no effort is made to define or justify the cryptic epithet. On page 7, it is stated that a claim to jurisdiction could not involve a claim to ownership; on page 11, the jurisdiction of the Roman state over its harbors and rivers is said to be based upon ownership. On page 15, it is asserted that, according to Gaius, all things within the territory of the state are, in a loose sense, *res publicae*—a probably unsound view despite the random generalization of Poste. The definitions given to the term *res nullius* on pages 16 and 20 are quite inconsistent. The statement on page 26, that the use of the term "public" in connection with harbors and rivers indicates its synonymity with the term "common", is unwarranted. On page 25, the reference in note 4 to Buckland's text-book does not apply to the cases for which it is cited in the text.

The proof-reading seems to be of a piece with the substance; the first note on page 3 gives an incorrect reference; on page 6 Paulus is referred to instead of Plautus; on page 22 a portion of the text is run as a quotation; on page 24 Moyle is cited instead of Sandars. The author is obviously unfamiliar with the more recent and careful studies on his topic by authors such as Czyhlarz and Pernice.

The author's treatment of the medieval and early modern literature upon his subject illustrates further the reviewer's point that legal theories can only be adequately studied in their context. It is only just to add that this, the more extended and important portion of the work, will be found distinctly useful despite its apparent limitations.

HESSEL E. YNTEMA.

*A Bibliography of Early English Law Books.* Compiled by Joseph Henry Beale, Royall Professor of Law in Harvard University. [The Ames Foundation.] (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1926, pp. viii, 304, \$7.50.) My experience of the bibliographical chaos existing some dozen years ago, when I began to compile a bibliography of one type of sixteenth-century law tract, makes me keenly appreciative of the novelty and importance of Professor Beale's achievement for the period 1480 to 1600. Except in a few admirable special bibliographies like Soule's Year-Book article, and in the old law booksellers' catalogues, fairly bristling with errors, legal titles had to be sought in bibliographies of general literature and history, inevitably weakest on the legal side. The difficulty was not overcome by Professor Holdsworth's valuable bibliographies; nor by the *Bibliography of English Law to 1650*, recently published by the law booksellers, Sweet and Maxwell. In many ways a useful volume, it is avowedly based largely on the old catalogues and therefore perpetuates ancient errors.<sup>1</sup>

That the difficulty no longer remains is evident as one examines Professor Beale's threefold arrangement. First, under Statutes (St-

<sup>1</sup> The new *Short-Title Catalogue of English Books, 1475-1640*, was not available to me in time for a thorough examination.



S307), Decisions (R1-R491), and Treatises (T1-T501), comes the bibliographical description of each edition. Then the titles, in chronological order, are rearranged under printers, and are followed by fifty woodcuts, not found in McKerrow. Lastly, the same information, together with the distribution of copies, is condensed in brief tables.

Although some libraries are necessarily omitted, we now have approximately the total legal output of each printer, and a conjectural dating of undated works, a brilliant feat for Tottell's Year-Books. Pynson's priority in nearly every legal publication becomes apparent, also his Year-Book activities—91 editions *vs.* seven assigned him in the *Handlists*. Judged by frequency of editions, Littleton's *Tenures* leads in popularity among treatises, with manuals for justices of the peace a close second; as a collection, John Rastell's six tracts met more needs than did his son's twelve. Statutes were clearly in great demand; do not Statutes on Livery, etc. (pp. 145, 149), belong with them rather than with treatises?

As the preface indicates, copies outside the Harvard Law Library are sometimes omitted; e.g. the Museum copies of Pynson's *Diversity of Courts* and Rastell's *Table to Fitzherbert*. A few mistakes in detail are cited as examples. Berthelet's 1530 (?) *Boke* is not in University Library, Cambridge; the numbering for "Magna Carta", page 4, does not correspond with page 261. Pynson's editions of *Surveying* are neglected; R 47 is given three different dates, nor is it *Liber Assisarum*, but an abridgment. Natura is a slip for Returna (T 152). Sandhurst for Stonyhurst (p. 260). But a great merit of this bibliography is that the mistakes are peculiarly easy to correct. The lasting impression left is of the innumerable new and important conclusions now possible on the history of law and law printers.

BERTHA HAVEN PUTNAM.

*Abhandlungen und Aktenstücke zur Geschichte der Schweiz.* Von Alfred Stern. (Aarau, Sauerländer, 1925, pp. 254, 9 M.) This is a collection of studies in Swiss history beginning with a problem of the fifteenth century by an eminent authority on the history of the nineteenth. All but one of the articles have appeared in print and therefore present no recent contributions to their subjects, but, as they were published in widely scattered periodicals over a period of forty years, it is a convenience to find them here revised and collected in one volume.

Five of these essays relate to what may be broadly called the Reformation period and the rest are concerned with the first half of the nineteenth century. The author first takes up the tradition of the derivation of the Swiss from the Swedes, as given in the metrical chronicle of the Austrian Hanitz von Bechwinden, whose account of the supposed migration makes it a disreputable flight instead of an honor. In a second paper, now published for the first time, he points out the close connection between political ideas in Switzerland and South Germany at the close of the fifteenth and in the first third of the sixteenth centuries.

The relations between Zurich and the celebrated General Schertlin von Burtenbach during the Schmalkaldic War are described from the original papers in Zurich. Light on the cultural conditions in Switzerland during the Thirty Years' War is derived from a study of the *Comœdia von Zweytracht und Eynigkeit*, played by school-boys in 1631. From diplomatic sources a comprehensive account is given of Cromwell's negotiations with the Evangelical Cantons respecting a league for the protection of Protestants, and the causes of failure.

The contributions to modern history include as titles: The Club of Swiss Patriots in Paris, 1790-1791; the Zurich Association for the Assistance of the Greeks, 1821-1828; General Dufour and the Savoy Uprising, showing a curious error on the part of some contemporaries, as the celebrated commander had nothing to do with the affair. Another paper gives authentic information concerning General Dufour from the archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Paris; finally there is the correspondence of Frederick William IV. and Napoleon III. concerning Neuchâtel, 1856-1857, having to do with the suppressed royalist uprising.

J. M. V.

*The Law of Social Revolution.* By the Labor Research Study Group, Scott Nearing, leader. (New York: Social Science Publishers. 1926. Pp. x, 262. \$60.) Twenty students formed in 1923 a Research Study Group and for three years studied the history and theory of social revolution. It has seemed to them that their results and conclusions should be published. In a sense this is true. The book is a product of honest and earnest study, and if the study was undertaken by persons insufficiently prepared for historical work and unable to see any portion of it with any other eyes than those of the communist, on the other hand it is profitable to us bourgeois to see how history looks to the communist's eye, and if no well-trained historian not hostile to the present social order sees fit to write a first-rate book on the natural history of social revolutions, we can not well complain of a small and unpretending book that treats that whole history from the point of view of those who hold that social revolution is highly beneficial and desirable and a necessary preliminary to that millennium in which, according to our authors, "all members of society will be highly cultured and educated; science and art will flourish". The histories of peasant revolutionary movements, the American, French, Russian, Mexican, and Chinese revolutions are treated in this book with considerable care and intelligence, but everywhere with a constant bias.

*Les Origines du Capitalisme Moderne.* Par Henri Sée. (Paris, Armand Colin, 1926, pp. 210, 7 fr.) The author presents this little book as an essay in synthesis, providing some historical material to the sociologist and economist, but aiming to pursue a course between that indicated by their abstract methods and that followed by the regular his-

torian. The product is a comparative study of the appearance and development of capitalism in different times and places. The first chapter describes early manifestations, ancient and medieval; the bulk of the book, about a hundred pages, is given to the period 1500-1800; the smaller part remaining, some seventy pages, covers the changes since 1800.

The book is an admirable example of effective construction and exposition. Every chapter gives evidence at the same time of the breadth of the author's knowledge and of his restraint in the selection of material. Each chapter closes with a brief but well-chosen bibliography.

In only one very important matter does the author seem to the reviewer to have gone astray. He ascribes (p. 98) the origin of the industrial revolution in England to the development of English foreign and colonial trade. The retarded development of capitalism in France he ascribes to the fact that foreign trade, particularly maritime and colonial trade, were much less flourishing. Taking the author's own figures for English commerce (there is an inconsistency in them which is unimportant for the present purpose) and comparing them with the figures for French commerce (p. 104), it appears that French commerce grew more rapidly than English commerce in the eighteenth century and was more valuable than English commerce in the period just before the French Revolution. This impression is confirmed by a more careful study of the available statistical material, to which has recently been added (*Bulletin de Statistique et de Législation Comparée*, June, 1924) a useful analysis of the French figures with allowance for the changing value of the *livre*. Reasons for the later appearance in France than in England of the modern forms of capitalism lay deeper in the political and social organization of the two countries than statistics of foreign trade can show. Further, any explanation of the difference in the rate of development after 1789 is unsatisfactory which, like the author's, dismisses in a bare line of the text the effect on France of the Revolution and the wars that followed.

CLIVE DAY.

*The State of the Church in the Reigns of Elizabeth and James I. as illustrated by Documents relating to the Diocese of Lincoln.* Edited by C. W. Foster, M.A., F.S.A., Canon of Lincoln and Vicar of Timberland. [Publications of the Lincoln Record Society, vol. 23.] (Horncastle, W. K. Morton and Sons, 1926, pp. cxlviii, 562, £1 12 s. 6 d.) The contents of the English episcopal archives are being gradually sorted, arranged, and made available to students and Lincoln has recently been added to the still brief list. The Lincoln Record Society, founded in 1910, has published many portions of the Lincoln records in an excellent series of which this volume is the twenty-third. The documents here included are the detailed records regarding the condition of the Lincoln clergy between 1571 and 1607, leaving the records from 1608 to 1625 for a second volume. The *Liber Cleri* for twelve separate dates has been printed in full, with all the names, dates, and details which the records

contain. There are also the Clerical Subsidy Rolls, the *Valuatio Beneficiorum* of 1603-1604, and the records of the election of proctors to Convocation in full. These are not compilations or summaries but the facts *in extenso* and are the final evidence we ever can have upon the condition of the clergy in the diocese of Lincoln in the later Reformation. While some facts were omitted by the bishop which we should like to know, and the records for some years are missing and in other cases incomplete, the material is so extended, so complete in nearly all details, that it can fairly be said to settle once and for all the various controversies about the condition of the clergy. The diocese of Lincoln was so large and comprehended so many districts of importance (especially to the history of Puritanism) that the conclusions to be drawn from these records raise definite presumptions about the condition of the Church in England itself, which are of the utmost value pending a similar investigation of the records of all dioceses. Canon Foster has compiled from these long lists the most important information regarding the clergy and the Puritans. He concludes that with some modifications of importance the reviewer's statements in the *Reconstruction of the English Church* about the condition of the clergy and the state of the Church will stand and that the reviewer's statements about the Puritan movement and the number deprived in 1604-1605 are literally correct. The reviewer feels that Canon Foster has in several matters misunderstood him and hopes that further study will convince him, as it has the reviewer, that no difference in opinion of any consequence exists. Certainly Canon Foster was in error in concluding that the reviewer believed the records he has printed too inaccurate to be worthy of serious consideration, for he failed to note the paragraph following the one he quoted (*Reconstruction*, II. 384) which states without qualification that the bishops' "records are the best evidence we possess". The evidence which the reviewer felt to be of little or no value is the voluminous correspondence and the compilations made by contemporaries, now in the British Museum, the Public Record Office, or private libraries. In this matter he feels that Canon Foster has finally demonstrated his contention. Whitgift gave the number of parishes in the diocese of Lincoln as 1255, the *Liber* of 1603 gives 1271, while Chaderton's own return gave 1262 with 49 chapels. Neither bishop nor archbishop were literally correct. Whitgift gave impropriations in Lincoln as 577, the *Liber* gives 788. Whitgift stated that there were 920 preachers, the *Liber* gives 712. The reviewer still feels that figures more exact than Canon Foster's will never be obtained.

ROLAND G. USHER.

*Samuel Pepys's Naval Minutes.* Edited by J. R. Tanner, Litt.D., Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge. [Publications of the Naval Records Society, vol. LX.] (London, William Clowes and Sons, 1926, pp. xx, 513, 25 s. 6 d.) Among the many contributions which Mr. Tanner has made to our knowledge of Samuel Pepys this new volume of the

secretary's *Naval Minutes* must take high rank. It is not precisely what its title would suggest, and perhaps for that reason it ought to be more interesting to historians; for it is, in effect, the mass of notes, memoranda, suggestions, ideas, and plans of further investigation, which Pepys from time to time jotted down as they occurred or were suggested to him in connection with a project which he long entertained for writing a history of the navy. It is, therefore, as Mr. Tanner observes, "entirely personal to Pepys". But it is much more. It contains an infinite amount of suggestive note and comment as well as of historical information of unusual interest. On every page the historical scholar finds problems, ideas, bits of uncommon evidence of all sorts relating to the navy, which not merely tempts him on and on but has that peculiar quality, at once inspiring and tantalizing, of pointing out things he would like to investigate for himself. Seldom in any such space will one find so many suggestions for historical work of such fascinating quality. It contributes scarcely less to our better knowledge of Pepys himself, and certainly to our respect for his intellectual qualities. It can be commended, thus, not only to the lovers of the diarist, to scholars "looking about for something to investigate", and to historians generally, especially to those interested in naval affairs, but to a much wider circle of readers, especially, like Mr. Tanner's other work, to those who know Pepys only as a diarist. For it may be said of Mr. Tanner's long, loving, and extraordinarily illuminating study of the great Secretary of the Navy as it was said of Professor Gardiner's study of the Stuart period, "he found it fable and he leaves it history". It will be long, no doubt, before the results of his researches penetrate the minds of those who know Pepys only from the *Diary*, but it may finally have some influence even there. And certainly in whatever state of blessedness the spirit of the secretary now disports itself, it must be a profound source of gratification to that great administrator. Even had he never written his *Diary*, thanks to the indefatigable labors and the remarkable scholarly qualities of Mr. Tanner, Samuel Pepys would now be a famous man, who, as he said, worked "for the good of futurity, though little deserving it of me".

W. C. ABBOTT.

*The Young Voltaire.* By Cleveland B. Chase. (New York and London, Longmans, Green, and Company, 1926, pp. ix, 253, 12 s. 6 d.) As a young man printing his first book Mr. Chase has given us a readable account, accurate enough, of the early life of Voltaire. It is eminently a book for the general reader who wishes to know something about the great humanitarian and to catch something of the spirit of the eighteenth century. The scholar who knows his eighteenth century will however find little that is new, while some of Mr. Chase's conclusions will seem to him a bit naïve. For example, the story of Voltaire's indecency at the table of his friend Pope might perhaps seem to him less "incredible" if he knew that Continental people were, in the eighteenth cen-

tury as now, more accustomed than Englishmen to speaking freely, at dinner tables as well as elsewhere, of *les intestines* and such like matters.

These are minor points however, and the chief purpose of Mr. Chase in writing the book was to emphasize the influence of Voltaire's residence in England on his later career. Briefly Mr. Chase finds that until the age of thirty Voltaire was no more than a fashionable wit, a successful poet, an accepted and lionized habitué of the salons. Such gibes at kings and priests as may be found in his plays were but clever epigrams necessary to win the applause of the conventional play-house audience. Mr. Chase thinks that Voltaire might easily have been, throughout his life, no more than the wittiest of the literary climbers, the most successful of the purveyors of brave radicalisms conventionally current among the sophisticated. What was it that changed the witty man about town into the impassioned reformer of the Old Régime? Two things especially, according to Mr. Chase: first the beating which Voltaire received at the hands of Rohan's lackeys; and second the influence upon his mind of the two years' residence in England. Laughed out of France by the high society which had enjoyed the beating as much as the wit which had brought it on, Voltaire went to England, which was like stepping from "the stuffy hot-house of French artificiality into the clear vitality of English honesty". Forced to "rebuild from the bottom his entire life", he found in England the material for the new structure; so that leaving France "a poet, he returned a reformer".

There is much truth in this, but one feels that Mr. Chase has made more of the "influence" of these events than they deserve. I do not of course know what Voltaire might have done if he had not been beaten by Rohan's lackeys, or, having been beaten, had not gone to England. I think however that being beaten by Rohan's lackeys was due only in part to the fact that Rohans were Rohans and that lackeys were lackeys. It was due in part to the extraordinarily important fact that Voltaire was Voltaire. Voltaire really had it in him to be beaten by lackeys. The physical beating was no doubt an accident; but he was bound to be spiritually lacerated by the insolence of all the Rohans and all the lackeys of France; and against all this insolence he was bound sooner or later to direct the deadly poison of his irony and the sustained heat of his passionate love of justice. Fortunately the Rohans served their country well by calling Voltaire's attention to themselves at an early date. The same qualification I think should be made in respect to the influence of England on Voltaire. He was influenced by England—profoundly influenced. But he would have been influenced by England even if he had never been beaten by lackeys, even if he had never gone to England. Diderot and Montesquieu were profoundly influenced by England. The entire school of Philosophers was profoundly influenced by England. It is inconceivable that Voltaire could have escaped that influence.

I repeat that Mr. Chase has given us an interesting and readable book about Voltaire. I commend it to the general reader. My point is only that Mr. Chase seems to say that if Voltaire had not been beaten by



Rohan's lackeys he wouldn't have been Voltaire; whereas I say that if Voltaire hadn't been Voltaire he wouldn't have been beaten by Rohan's lackeys—or it wouldn't have mattered if he had been.

CARL BECKER.

*L'Introduction du Machinisme dans l'Industrie Française.* Par Charles Ballot. [Comité des Travaux Historiques, Notices, Inventaires, Documents, IX.] (Paris, F. Rieder et Cie, 1923, pp. xvii, 575.) The work of the author on this study of technical development in industry was interrupted by the war, and his death at Verdun left a heavy responsibility upon his fellow student Claude Gével, who was finally persuaded to prepare the manuscript for the press. While the main outlines were complete and many chapters finished, some were only sketched and research had not been carried as far as the interest and importance of the subjects would naturally require. M. Gével has put the manuscript in finished form without attempting to make it wholly symmetrical in proportions. The present work is thus somewhat less complete than it would have been had its talented author been spared.

Attention is concentrated primarily upon the period 1780-1815, for the position is advanced that the general introduction of machinery was well under way at the outbreak of the Revolution. The narrative is, however, carried well back into the eighteenth century to trace the beginnings of the more important machines. The entire history of the introduction of machinery in the silk industry is given in considerable detail with much new material. Vaucanson's work is covered and also the history of the Jacquard loom from the earliest suggestion of Bouchon in 1725. Developments in the other textile trades and in metallurgy are traced from their beginnings. There are careful descriptions of the geography of each industry during the Revolution and the Empire, based upon the materials in the Archives Nationales which have hitherto been inadequately utilized.

Although many technical developments were initiated or first perfected in England, the present study makes it clear that the French movement is much more than a mere reflection of English tendencies. Both countries possessed a background of technical knowledge which rested upon common scientific achievements. In the use of this knowledge the English not only showed themselves more resourceful as promoters, but also more practical as inventors. They had a happy faculty of selecting limited objectives for their earlier work. Vaucanson and Falcon, for instance, were attempting to develop an automatic loom for damask patterns before a successful loom had been produced for the simplest goods. Cugnot was working on a steam carriage before the stationary engine was brought into a significantly workable condition. But the main mass of French workmen were apathetic, and there was more overt hostility to innovation than in England. Active development was in the hands of a few inventors and large industrialists, assisted somewhat fitfully by the government.

The author brought to his subject a technical competence and interest that is seldom equalled in historical writing outside the special literatures of the various industries. This is perhaps the most notable feature of the book, but his interests lead to larger conclusions. Although it is not formally stated as a thesis, the book really shows that we must needs think of the Industrial Revolution as a general movement involving the continent of Europe and the North American settlements as well as England. Each region made positive and original contributions. This posthumous study will thus take a position of great importance in the literature of modern industry.

ABBOTT PAYSON USHER.

*Mirabeau und seine Monarchie Prussienne.* Von Hanns Reissner, Ph.D. (Berlin and Leipzig, Walter de Gruyter, 1926, pp. viii, 109, 4 M.) Dr. Reissner's monograph is a successful attempt to analyze the parts played by Mirabeau and by Mauvillon in the writing of the *Monarchie Prussienne*; to ascertain the sources of information for the work, their value, and how they were used; to estimate the value of the work as a scientific work and as a polemical treatise; to learn how it was received in Germany and in France, and, finally, to discover what its importance is for the biography of Mirabeau and for political science. His conclusion is that Mirabeau's economic ideas, as expressed in the work, range him among the free-traders rather than among the physiocrats, while Mauvillon was a thorough-going physiocrat and the *Monarchie Prussienne* should be looked upon as a part of the propaganda that Mauvillon was carrying on in Germany for physiocratic ideas. As to the place of the work in the history of political science, Reissner places it between the *Ami des Hommes* and Young's *Travels in France*, distinguished from the first by the employment of statistical methods, and from the last by the unscientific and dogmatic narrowness of the *Monarchie Prussienne*. The monograph is a scholarly piece of work and forms a valuable addition to the Mirabeau literature.

F. M. F.

*John Horne Tooke.* By Minnie Clare Yarborough, Ph.D., Assistant Professor of English, Wheaton College. (New York, Columbia University Press, 1926, pp. xix, 252, \$2.50.) One might write profitably of John Horne, later Horne Tooke, as a philologist, as a political agitator, or as an eccentric individual. Although this biography was written under the direction of a department of English, only one of its eight chapters is devoted to Tooke as the author of the *Diversions of Purley*; the rest of the book is a straightforward narrative of the essential facts of his life, pieced together with considerable skill and ability from information gathered by searching in the authorities familiar to students of the history of literature and in the works of Tooke. Unfortunately, the author seems not to have used many of the more important monographs dealing with the history of the time, a serious omission in view of the

fact that she devotes so much of her space to Tooke as a political agitator. The use of some of these authorities might have enabled her to write with a nicer feeling for the atmosphere in which her subject lived and might have saved her from some errors of fact—*e.g.*, that there was a general election in 1788 (p. 197). Moreover, to write the life of a man who was a political agitator in a time when pamphlets were published by the hundred and newspapers and other periodicals by the score without using any of the latter and with little or no use of pamphlets except those written by Tooke himself would seem to be scarcely a good policy. No doubt the book would have been improved had the author been able to visit Tooke's native country and, in particular, had she been able to consult the numerous pieces concerning his life and work preserved in the British Museum, where, among many other items not used, are some of the books from Tooke's personal library with important manuscript-notes in his hand.

These strictures should not obscure the fact that Dr. Yarborough has written a more useful biography of Tooke than existed before, though it is to be regretted that she did not seek bibliographical suggestions from the faculty of history as well as that of literature in the university under whose auspices she wrote.

WILLIAM THOMAS LAPRADE.

*Les Sociétés de Pensée et la Révolution en Bretagne, 1788-1789.* Par Augustin Cochin. Two volumes. (Paris, Champion, 1926, pp. xii, 470; 390, 35 fr.) Augustin Cochin met an untimely death upon a battlefield of the Great War. The results of his prodigious research, however, held back during his life in anticipation of a magnum opus upon the Terror, have been appearing posthumously since 1920, for the most part under the editorship of M. A. Ackermann. Cochin's work marks a new departure in the study of the Revolution. Its originality derives from the fact that the historian has been willing to make full use of the allied sciences, sociology and psychology, without, however, lessening the rigor of a strictly historical method and research. This approach led Cochin to reject at once the "Patriotic" and "Complot" interpretations of the revolutionary movement, and to study it as a democratic phenomenon, functioning in obedience to sociological law. Indebted to Bryce and Ostrogorski on the one hand and to Durkheim on the other, he formulated a sociological theory on the basis of the multiple observation of historical facts. The purely theoretical aspect of his work appeared as a whole in *La Révolution et la Libre Pensée*, published in 1924. In this volume Cochin elaborated his theory of the Sociétés de Pensée by which he explained the evolution of the democratic phenomenon through the philosophical societies of the Ancien Régime (that is, the literary, Masonic, scientific societies, etc., the *musées* and *lycées*; the *Sociétés de Pensée* in their pure form) to the Jacobin organization of 1793.

*Les Sociétés de Pensées et la Révolution en Bretagne* is a pragmatic study of this democratic phenomenon in Brittany from May 10, 1788, to

May 4, 1789. Within this circumscribed area and period of time it is a factual substantiation of the theory elaborated in *La Révolution et la Libre Pensée*. Volume I. leads us through the maze of organized political manoeuvring by which, in the struggle between the ministry and the Parlement of Bretagne, the "Patriotes", or members of the "Sociétés" and their allies parading as the "People", gained control of the province. It is an amazing story of committees of correspondence, circular letters, protests, "packed" meetings, intimidation, and violence. Theory and fact are woven together in a logical and convincing manner; the author never goes beyond his evidence in order to justify his theory. And the whole is substantiated by the most complete documentation from national, departmental, communal, and private archives. Under the subtitle, "Synthèse et Justification", the second volume presents in a conveniently classified form, and at greater length than could be given in the ordinary foot-notes, the evidence upon which the narrative of volume I. is based. Here we have the lists of the personnel of the "Centre" and the "Circonférence", the acts of each, tables of votes, *précis* of the situation in each town, municipality, and *évêché* during the whole period in question, lists of the literary societies, academies, and Masonic lodges, and, finally, a selection of the more important documents. In the main, Cochin's theory, in so far as Brittany is concerned, seems irrefutable.

Cochin's work as a whole has met with a varied reception in France. The Republican historians in the universities have not viewed it favorably. On the other hand, the French Academy has awarded the Prix Gobert to *Les Sociétés de Pensée et la Révolution en Bretagne*. Where criticism has been forthcoming, it has been the result largely of misconceptions. Cochin does not claim in any way to controvert the commonly accepted beliefs as to the causes of the Revolution, such as the inequalities and feudal anachronisms. He endeavors merely to explain the process by which the changes necessitated by these grievances came about. Furthermore, the theory which dominates the *Sociétés de Pensée*—and therefore the whole Revolution—is the theory of direct, not representative, democracy. M. Mathiez, in taking exception to Cochin's theory, overlooked this fact entirely.

DEFOREST VAN SLYCK.

*A Short History of the French Revolution, 1789-1795.* By E. D. Bradby. (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1926, pp. ix, 375, 7 s. 6 d.) The aim of this book "is to give some idea of the French Revolution to the general reader who is not an historical student and more especially to the young reader". The author has been for many years a student of the revolutionary period and in her life of Barnave published in 1915 she produced not only a notable biography but a work of scholarship which throws much light on the early history of the Revolution. The present work is thus the popularization of a scholar. Its compact form precludes the addition of extensive foot-notes and references but it is based on prolonged investigation of documentary material and of works of modern research.

The period covered extends from 1787 to October, 1795, from the calling of the States General to the end of the Convention. Although Miss Bradby has not attempted to deal at length with the causes of the Revolution, preferring to devote all her space to the Revolution itself, she manages nevertheless in explaining the events leading to the calling of the States General to give a good idea of fundamental conditions. The latter portion of the period is the part least well treated. The bloodshed of the Committee of Public Safety is stressed, but its constructive and administrative work in reorganizing the armies, and in providing a food supply receives little attention. It is at least open to question whether the danger of the country was not a real *raison d'être* as well as a "pretext" for the Terror. But here the author may unconsciously though not unreasonably be looking at the matter from the point of view represented by Barnave.

The merits of the book are outstanding. They include clarity of narrative, skill in tracing the mutual influence of popular outbreaks and legislative action, the use of picturesque detail and concrete examples which make real the minor as well as the more important characters and give atmosphere to the period, and finally apt comparisons with modern situations. An example of such comparison is the parallel between the rumors that "the brigands were coming" with the rumors that Russian troops were passing through England in September, 1914, while the allusion to the showman who in the crisis of June, 1791, hastily changed the title of his exhibit from "a royal tiger" to "a national tiger", is a trivial but forceful illustration of strength of anti-monarchical feeling. Numerous and well-chosen illustrations and a map of Paris during the Revolution add to the value of a work which has much to offer not only to the young reader but also to the mature scholar.

*Labour Migration in England, 1800-1850.* By Arthur Redford, M.A., Ph.D., Sir Ernest Cassell Lecturer in Commerce in the University of London, Reader in Economic History in the University of Manchester. (Manchester, the University Press, London and New York, Longmans, Green, and Company, 1926, pp. xvi, 174, 15 s.) This book tells us how, why, and to what extent the British working classes migrated during the first half of the nineteenth century. It explains the immigration into England of the Irish; it analyzes the drift from the agricultural counties to the urban; and it orients the relation of these migratory movements to the New Poor Law in particular and to the Industrial Revolution in general.

Transportation from Ireland to the new industrial districts in England was remarkably cheap throughout all of this period. During the eighteen-twenties it averaged but half a crown and during the rate war of 1827 it dropped as low as 4d. Meanwhile, there was only one cheap method of reaching Lancashire from southern England before the new Poor Law went into effect. One might journey to a neighboring parish where, if unknown, it might be possible to swear to a settlement in

the North. This would result in a free passage. Few Englishmen, however, took advantage of this opportunity. The Irish, on the other hand, used it freely. They would club together for their return to Ireland, give their money to one of their number who would pay his own passage; the others would swear that they were paupers and so obtain free transportation.

The commissioners of the new Poor Law attempted to accelerate the movement from country to town by the appointment of agents to act as a go-between for intending emigrants on the one hand and the expectant mill-owners on the other. The former, ever suspicious of the government's *bona fides*, spoke of "transportation into slavery" and were reluctant to leave their villages. None the less, they gradually did so until the coming of the "Hungry Forties". During these years of economic crisis the movement was reversed. Urban paupers who came from the country were now forced back to the place of their birth, a scandal quite as bad as "transportation into slavery", and only partially remedied by the Poor Removal (Amendment) Act of 1846.

The Irish, in the interim, poured into Great Britain through Liverpool, Glasgow, and Bristol like a horde of angry locusts. Poverty, disease, and resultant crime followed in their wake. Wages fell to new low levels, and had it not been for railway construction as well as for the repeal of the Corn Laws, a blight would have fallen on northern England.

*Labour Migration in England* is well documented; its 164 pages are closely packed with pertinent data; its bibliography is excellent; and in the appendix are six maps which make clear the complexities of the census statistics. As a scientific treatise on a somewhat abstruse subject this book is a credit both to the author and to the Manchester University Economic Series in which it is placed.

WALTER P. HALL.

*Bayern und das Preussische Unionsprojekt.* Von M. Doeberl. (Munich and Berlin, R. Oldenbourg, 1926, pp. 175, 8 M.) M. Doeberl, the well-known Munich historian, issues a third volume in his series of monographs dealing with Bavaria's policy in the German question between 1848 and 1870. A fourth volume, to appear shortly, will deal with the decisive struggle for hegemony in Germany. The works are valuable, bringing new material from the Bavarian archives.

The present study deals with Prussia's plan for unity immediately after the revolution of 1848. The old confederation had proved a failure, largely because of the top-heaviness of Austria, weighted down by her non-German provinces. The new plan called for two confederations, so to speak, an inner and an outer one, only the latter of which was to include Austria. Bavaria played a decisive rôle, for had she promptly seconded Prussia, German unity need not have waited for twenty years. Instead the Bavarian minister von der Pfordten opposed the exclusion of Austria and also claimed for Bavaria a larger voice in the councils of



the new confederation. The dispute ended in the reconstitution of the old German confederation with all its imperfections. Austria and Prussia each claimed hegemony and the war of 1866 was the result.

Doeberl's narrative throws light in every direction and the documents show the motives of Bavaria's government and the part she would have liked to play in the new arrangement in the reconstitution of Germany. Von der Pfordten wanted German unity but without Prussian hegemony. His rôle was not that of a dog in the manger nor of a bull in a china shop—he was unwilling to make concessions to Austria even to Bavaria's advantage which might have been disastrous to Germany as a whole. The plan collapsed finally, not alone because of Bavaria's opposition but also because of the timorousness and indecision of Frederick William IV.

Undoubtedly the best treatment of the whole period is to be found in Erich Brandenburg's *Reichsgründung* (1923-1925), but Doeberl claims to have been the first to utilize the Bavarian state documents and the papers of von der Pfordten. His claims may be slightly exaggerated but not to such an extent as to invalidate the importance of his work. He may be biased in Bavaria's favor but his work will be welcomed by every serious student of the period. He is to complete the series shortly by a volume on the struggle for hegemony between Austria and Prussia.

*Renan et Strasbourg.* Par Jean Pommier, Maître de Conférences à la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Strasbourg. [Études d'Histoire et de Philosophie Religieuses publiées par la Faculté de Théologie Protestante de l'Université de Strasbourg, no. 11.] (Paris, Félix Alcan, 1926, pp. viii, 200, 20 fr.) The second sentence of this book points out that Renan seems never to have been in the city of Strasbourg in his life. But there is another Strasbourg, a city of the mind, conspicuous on the intellectual map of Europe, and there Renan was a familiar figure. M. Pommier writes as a labor of love, to show how his university and its circle has profoundly affected the main currents of creative scholarship in France, of which, in his day, the characteristic embodiment was Renan. And Renan did not become what he was without Strasbourg. We have here, then, a book about Strasbourg rather than a book about Renan.

The "school of Strasbourg"—the prominent names for M. Pommier are Bergmann, Reuss, Colani, Reville—formed an intellectual circle to which Renan felt perfectly akin. Not that he and they were always, or generally, in agreement, but that by scholarship they meant the same thing. From at least as early as 1857, Renan was keenly and gratefully conscious of this kinship. The Strasbourg scholars gave him in return a sympathetic and intelligent hearing. Some of the most judicial and constructive reviews of his publications came from their number: Colani's *Examen de la Vie de Jésus de Renan* (1864) is an admirable illustration.

All these relationships are set forth by M. Pommier in a rigorously documented and meticulously scientific monograph, which yet has charm

and interest. Reading it, one works in detail through the whole field of Renan's extensive studies (this alone gives the book an extraordinary value for the student), but concerned always primarily, not with Renan, but with Strasbourg and its rôle as an *alma mater* of such studies. M. Pommier has done an admirable thing admirably. In no other way could we be better taught what such an intellectual community meant in fructifying European scholarship in days when freedom in the expression of thought was only in process of being slowly and painfully attained. May we have more such illuminating studies in the spiritual history of our universities.

CLAYTON R. BOWEN.

*L'Empire Allemand, 1871-1900.* Par M. E. Vermeil, Professeur à l'Université de Strasbourg. [Histoire du Monde, dirigée par E. M. Cavaignac.] (Paris, E. de Boccard, 1926, pp. xxiii, 262.) The title of this compact, well-organized volume is misleading as to its contents. It is a study of European history during the period of Germany's hegemony rather than an account of the German Empire. The course of events from 1815 to 1870 is summarized and interpreted in a brief introduction. The body of the book is divided into three parts of about equal length: the first is devoted to the period from the Treaty of Frankfurt to the Congress of Berlin, the second deals with the situation from the Triple Alliance to the Franco-Russian Alliance, and the third carries the account to the beginnings of the Anglo-German antagonism. There is a short conclusion.

Professor Vermeil has written for the general reader and therefore he has not given a careful analysis of the new documentary material. What is unique, however, is the effort to show the relation between the domestic history of each of the Great Powers and its foreign policy. Two-thirds of the space is devoted to the first theme, while the discussion of diplomatic history is limited to eighty-five pages. The conception is excellent, but its execution in a brief volume is necessarily difficult. Too frequently the reader is left to work out the connection for himself, and the author does not attempt to trace the differences in regard to questions of foreign policy between groups and parties within each country.

The point of view is usually unbiased. Professor Vermeil's choice of adjectives may be questioned but few will doubt the justice of his judgment of Germany at the close of the century: "*L'Allemagne nous apparaît dès maintenant comme une sorte de collectivité monstrueuse en plein élan, mais inquiétante parce que ses énergies sont mal dirigées*" (p. 212). Nevertheless, Germany is definitely charged with the undivided responsibility for the World War (p. xxiii).

While admirably adapted to the needs of condensed statement, the style is uneven as a result of the constant use of short, and often incomplete, sentences. The necessity to be brief is perhaps also responsible for the inadequate statement of the obligations assumed by the members of the

Dual Alliance of 1879 (p. 118) and by those of the Triple Alliance (p. 124). The brief bibliography is not well prepared, and there is, of course, no index.

E. MALCOLM CARROLL.

*Les Origines de la Guerre et la Politique Extérieure de l'Allemagne au Début du XX<sup>e</sup> Siècle d'après les Documents Diplomatiques publiés par le Ministre Allemand des Affaires Étrangères.* Par Edmond Vermeil, Professeur à l'Université de Strasbourg. (Paris, Payot, 1926, pp. 252, 20 fr.) This little volume, which first appeared as a special number of Mlle. L. Weiss's *L'Europe Nouvelle* (April 17, 1926), is an admirable analysis of *Die Grosse Politik*, volumes XVIII.-XXIII., that is, of German foreign policy from the renewal of the Triple Alliance in 1902 to the Second Hague Conference and the Anglo-Russian Agreement of 1907. It consists largely of quotations from the German documents, which are left to tell the story by themselves. In the first Moroccan crisis and the following years, M. Vermeil brings out the fact that in the conflict of interests between the Great Powers the major conflict was between Great Britain and Germany rather than between France and Germany. This was owing to the growing German navy, which was chiefly responsible for the increasing tension between the two systems of alliance into which Europe had become divided. By her navy, her active colonial policy, and her aggressive attitude toward France, Germany had herself brought about the formation of the Triple Entente, and what she regarded as the policy of "encirclement". M. Vermeil concludes that Germany herself was to blame for this situation. Isolated by Italy's doubtful loyalty and Austria's danger of dissolution, "she wanted peace, but she prepared for war, and forced her natural adversaries to prepare for it. . . . Her responsibility does not date from the few fatal days which preceded mobilization".

S. B. F.

*La Marine Française dans la Grande Guerre, 1914-1918.* Par A. Thomazi. Tome III., *La Guerre Navale aux Dardanelles.* (Paris, Payot, 1926, pp. 256, 20 fr.) This third volume of Captain Thomazi's history of the activities of the French navy in the World War is, like its predecessors, an extremely painstaking, accurate, and comprehensive chronicle. It is characterized by the same lack of bias as well as of national or professional jealousy; and, above all, it does not, like many records of the World War, sacrifice thoroughness to the fancied necessity of telling an interesting tale. Its style is pleasing, but it does not blink at the duty of chronicling the mass of details which, while tedious to the layman, can not fail to make it of the highest value to the future historian of the World War, whose time is not yet come. While a recent author has essayed to tell the whole story of the American navy's activities in the World War in three hundred pages, Captain Thomazi has devoted nearly as much space to the naval campaign at the Dardanelles alone. It is a

sadly fascinating theme, the epic of a great and tragic failure, of a struggle between titans almost on the very ground which shook under the feet of the heroes of Greece and of Troy. The initial mistake of the Allies was the curious inability to appreciate the vital importance of the Dardanelles objective at the beginning of the war. Instead of a quick and decisive blow being struck in the East, the Turks, heartened by the safe arrival at Constantinople of the *Goeben* and the *Breslau*, were left long enough under the influence of their Teutonic political and military teachers to prepare a defense stiff enough to defy the mighty powers of Great Britain and France. Admiral Tirpitz wrote in 1915, "Should the Dardanelles fall, then the World War has been decided against us", a pronouncement thus commented on by Captain T. G. Frothingham: "In fact, if the Allies had captured Constantinople at the beginning of 1915, it would have been so great a physical and moral victory that it is hard to see how the Central Powers could have held out against its effects" (*Naval History of the World War*, I. 242). After the foreordained and inevitable failure of the purely naval attack on the straits, enough time was allowed the Turks by the vacillation of the Allies to prepare a defense which brought to naught the wasteful exertion of some of the finest military heroism recorded in history.

All three of these volumes of Captain Thomazi are fairly well printed on poor paper. In this third volume there are five plans of indifferent quality and no maps. On the whole it must be said that Captain Thomazi has produced a work of the greatest historical value.

EDWARD BRECK.

*Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the Year 1921.* (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1926, pp. 255.) This is a thin volume; it really has fewer pages than its "supplementary volume", Miss Griffin's *Writings on American History*, 1921, which was published two or three years earlier, and thereby somewhat nearer to the date to which it refers. The reason for the slightness of the present volume is financial. The annual appropriation for the Association at the Government Printing Office still stands at \$7000, the figure at which it was fixed in 1907. That sum would then allow 1400 pages of print to the Association; at present, at the extraordinary rates charged by the Government Printing Office (due to the extraordinary wage-scale it has been forced to adopt) \$7000 will hardly pay for more than 800 pages. So the *Reports* are very badly in arrears, and the Committee on Publication has reduced this volume by availing itself of a vote of the Council in 1920, that abstracts of the papers read at the December meeting should be printed, and not the papers in full. The present volume therefore, after the formal proceedings, contains only 90 pages of actual print to represent the sixty or so papers read at St. Louis. In the case of many, this is disappointing; and yet there is a good deal of interest and profit to be obtained from this record and brief description of advances made in this or that field.

*An American Jewish Bibliography, being a List of Books and Pamphlets by Jews or relating to them, printed in the United States from the Establishment of the Press in the Colonies until 1850.* By A. S. W. Rosenbach. [Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society, no. 30.] (Baltimore, the Society, 1926, pp. xvii, 500.) It is great good fortune to the American Jewish Historical Society that Dr. Rosenbach, prince among bibliographers, has been moved to perform, as a labor of love, the enormous amount of work involved in the making of this volume. It catalogues, in the most approved style of the bibliographers, 689 items, of publications by or relating to Hebrews, 121 of them antedating the nineteenth century, the rest brought forth in the first half of that century. Two hundred of the pages present facsimiles of title-pages and the like. The volume will be an invaluable book of reference, not only for those interested in the history of the Jews in the United States, and of the various Hebrew grammars, prayer books, Bibles, almanacs, and newspapers, but for those interested in the history of the teaching of the Hebrew language, the spread of Hebrew culture and learning, the history of charitable organizations, reforms, literature, and typography. The location of copies in private and public libraries is largely given.

*Jean Ribaut: the Whole and True Discoverye of Terra Florida.* Edited by Jeannette Thurber Connor. [Publications of the Florida State Historical Society, no. 7.] (DeLand, Fla., the Society, 1927, pp. xvi, 139.) Ribaut's *Whole and True Discoverye* exists in two forms, the text of 48 pages printed at London in 1563, and a manuscript in the British Museum, Sloane MS. 3644. Of the printed text only two copies are known, one in the Library of Lambeth Palace, the other in that of the British Museum, the former having a dedication which is lacking in the latter. The manuscript version was printed by Dr. H. P. Biggar in the *English Historical Review*, XXXII. 253-270. In the present exquisite little volume Mrs. Connor, after a careful biography of Ribaut, prints both these versions, the Sloane MS. with Dr. Biggar's annotations, the print of 1563 in a photogelatine facsimile. She also gives three appendixes. In the first she describes Le Moyne's original picture of the column erected by Ribaut on the River of May, a painting which was discovered in a French chateau in 1901. In the second she narrates the fate of Ribaut's two columns. In the third Mr. A. S. Salley, jr., discusses the site of Charlesfort. It seems clear that the column in honor of Ribaut, of Charlesfort, and of the Huguenots, which was provided by unanimous vote of Congress and unveiled on Parris Island by the Secretary of the Navy in March, 1926, has been set up, by unhappy error, on the site of the Spanish fort San Marcos, built in 1577 by Pedro Menéndez Marqués, and not on that of Charlesfort. Mrs. Connor's book has seven excellent illustrations, relating to the columns and to Port Royal, of which it forms a pleasing and scholarly memorial.

*Jonas Michaëlius, Founder of the Church in New Netherland.* By A. Eekhof, Professor in Leyden University. (Leyden, A. W. Sijthoff, 1926, pp. 148.) No more timely publication could have been issued in connection with the approaching tercentenary of the founding of the Dutch Reformed Church in America than this book about Domine Michaëlius, in which Dr. Eekhof gives facsimiles, transcripts, and English translations of a hitherto unknown letter of the first minister in New Netherland to his friend and patron, Joannes van Foreest, and of two Latin letters written by the latter to Michaëlius in 1629, which were found by the author among the archives of the Van Foreest family at Heiloo, near Alkmaar, in the Netherlands. The book also contains the original text and revised translations of Michaëlius's letters of August 11 and August 8, 1628, which were first published respectively in 1857 and 1902, and in a valuable introduction brings to light many interesting facts regarding Michaëlius's parentage and education, which the author was able to gather from various sources. In addition to all this, the book contains by way of introduction to the general subject a chapter on Bastiaen Jansz. Krol, the first "comforter of the sick" in New Netherland, about whom the author wrote a monograph in 1910, and about whom he now presents a number of new facts, relating to the later years of his life and his death in 1674.

An interesting feature of the book, in connection with the question of the first settlement of New Netherland, is an affidavit made on July 30, 1627, by Willem van der Hulst, in which this former director of New Netherland states that he sailed in 1624 as a passenger on the ship *Nieuw Nederlandt*, thus showing that his voyage on the *Orangeboom*, in 1625, was his second voyage to New Netherland, instead of the first, as hitherto assumed.

V. L.

*Liberalism and American Education in the Eighteenth Century.* By Allen Oscar Hansen, Ph.D. (New York, Macmillan Company, 1926, pp. xxv, 317, \$2.50.) This volume sets forth nine plans for an American national system of education, published between 1785 and 1800, by the following authors: Benjamin Rush, Robert Coram, James Sullivan, Nathaniel Chipman, Samuel Knox, Samuel H. Smith, Lafite du Courteil, Du Pont de Nemours, and Noah Webster. The book is "intended to be both an exposition of sources and a source book" (preface) though only extracts from the plans are printed with some running comment. One purpose of the book is to show how eighteenth-century liberalism, particularly in France, affected the thinking of those authors who published plans for a system of national education, *vis.*, a system of education for "creative democracy". There are separate chapters on Dominant Ideas of the Eighteenth Century, Principles of the American Revolution, Activities of the American Philosophical Society in Behalf of a National System of Education, and a summary and bibliography.



Though all of the plans but two, those of Rush and Webster, were published after the formation of the Constitution, they all ignore, and so does Mr. Hansen in his comment, one very fundamental fact: namely, that under the Constitution education was one of the reserved rights of the states. Hence there could be no real national system of education, except by amending the Constitution, or through the voluntary acceptance by individual states of some general plan, a visionary idea indeed. That of Samuel Knox, for example (1799), must have delighted the high priests of Federalism with its highly centralized scheme of uniform text-books, entrance examinations, and state colleges, all dependent on a central "Literary Board" and a "National University . . . connected with every branch or seminary of the general system" (pp. 126-129, 134). The author makes little or no effort to interpret the plans in the light of actual conditions—educational, political, economic, and social.

The title of the volume is misleading because there is no discussion of liberalism in education before 1786, an important, interesting, and complex story; one that can not be studied in the theoretical writings of a few reformers, whose plans in fact turn out to be quite undemocratic from the standpoint of administration. As a study in educational theories from 1785 to 1800 this is a useful book.

M. W. JERNEGAN.

*George Washington's Rules of Civility and Decent Behaviour in Company and Conversation.* Edited with an introduction by Charles Moore. (Boston and New York, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1926, pp. xv, 65, \$2.00.) It is the firm belief of the reviewer that of all the great personages of history the one with the most unerring good judgment, the one who had himself best under control, the one who was most nearly both a reasoning and also a reasonable being was George Washington. To what extent he owed these qualities to heredity, to environment, to self-cultivation would furnish an interesting problem to a psychologist. This much we know, that Washington was largely self-taught, that when still a youth he wrote out for himself a system of maxims and regulations of conduct, called by him *Rules of Behavior in Company and Conversation*. These maxims have generally been regarded by his biographers as "formative influences in the development of his character". They certainly show that the fifteen-year-old boy who wrote them was striving at self-improvement.

It was once supposed that Washington himself composed the Rules, but this is now known to be erroneous. In this little book Dr. Moore reprints the Washington "Rules" on the same pages with Francis Hawkins's *Youth's Behavior* and makes it clear that Washington selected, simplified, and arranged his own maxims from this work. The Hawkins Rules (first published about 1640 and in many later editions) were in turn a translation of a French work, *Bienséance de la Conversation entre les Hommes*, which was prepared by pensionnaires of the French Jesuit College of La Flèche in 1595. The late Moncure D.

Conway, a keen student of Washington's career, discovered the similarity between the Washington and the French maxims but missed the Hawkins connection. This connection Dr. Moore shows conclusively. All of the Washington Rules are reproduced in facsimile, and as a frontispiece the book has the first portrait of Washington, that painted by Peale at Mount Vernon in 1772.

PAUL L. HAWORTH.

*The Family Life of George Washington.* By Charles Moore. (Boston and New York, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1926, pp. xvii, 250, \$5.00.) It is still five years until the bicentennial of George Washington's birth, but already the flood of books about him has begun. Some of them are such a curious compound of imagination and ignorance that it is refreshing to receive one written by so real an authority on the subject as Dr. Moore, chief of the Division of Manuscripts of the Library of Congress. By editing and publishing the *Diaries* of Washington Mr. Fitzpatrick of that division lately put all students of history in his debt, and now Dr. Moore makes another real contribution to our knowledge of Washington.

In the book the history of the Washington family and of all other important families connected by blood, marriage, or friendship with the Washingtons is duly set down. We learn about the Fairfaxes, the Dandridges, the Parkes, the Custises, the Lewises, and many others, of those who were contemporaries of Washington and of those who came before and after him. The later history of some of these families is especially interesting, even though, in some cases, it makes a rather depressing story. For example, we have read so much about the "divine Miss Custis", a beautiful creature, evidently designed only for joy and happiness, and of her romance and marriage to Washington's nephew, Lawrence Lewis, that it is rather a shock to learn that their later years were rather unhappy ones, that they were reduced to straitened circumstances, that Mr. Lewis regarded his wife as responsible for their plight, and that their estate of Woodlawn became a scene of desolation. In these days of "race suicide" it is illuminating to note that Nelly's mother, after the death of John Parke Custis, her first husband, married Dr. Stuart and gave him "an annually increasing family"; that, in fact, she was ultimately the mother of twenty children. Eliza Parke Custis and her sometime husband Thomas Law, swashbuckling Colonel Parke, who brought the news of Blenheim from Marlborough to Queen Anne, naive George Washington Parke Custis of Arlington, "self-taught" artist, dramatist, poet, and biographer, are among the other persons who figure largely in the narrative.

The book is written in a sprightly style and with real charm. It is profusely illustrated with portraits, photographs of historic mansions, and facsimiles of documents. A carefully prepared "Washington Chronology" running from 1602 to 1925 is appended. The introduction is by Mrs. Theodore Roosevelt.

PAUL L. HAWORTH.

*Sweden and the American Revolution.* By Adolph B. Benson, Associate Professor in Yale University. (New Haven, the Tuttle, Morehouse, and Taylor Company, 1926, pp. xii, 216, \$3.00.) Scholars should be grateful to Professor Benson for undertaking the thankless task of informing the public on the relations of a small neutral European nation to the American Revolution. He has thrown into full relief the details of a badly illuminated corner of the historical picture of this period. By painstaking research he has been able to identify as Swedish sixty-four officers who served under the French flag, their motives being glory, adventure, and practical military experience. The descendants of the Swedish colony on the Delaware, the activities of Count Gustav Philip Creutz, Swedish minister at Paris, Colonel Axel von Fersen, Rochambeau's aide-de-camp, and Baron Curt von Stedingk, a prominent commander in the battles of Grenada and Savannah, are each treated in separate chapters. The author struggles manfully to deal with the inflammable material of the book, which involves two patriotisms, in as coldly scientific a manner as possible, and in the main succeeds; but occasionally an irrepressible desire to make the Swedes appear important and pro-American leads him into certain deductions from "northern heritage" and "racial qualities", which the critical reader will swallow only with a pinch of salt. An obvious error of fact is the statement (p. 205) that Spain entered into a treaty of alliance with the United States.

Professor Benson makes the challenging assertion (pp. 25-39) that the credit for initiating the Armed Neutrality League of 1780 belongs more properly to Sweden than to Catherine II. Official moves for such a league seem, from the memoirs and documents quoted by the author, to have been first made by Sweden and Denmark. At any rate, Sweden, in April, 1779, after futile efforts to persuade at least Denmark, whose advances had led to nothing, to join her, independently adopted a policy of armed neutrality which merely required the co-operation of the other two nations to become the basis of the Armed Neutrality League of 1780.

BRYNJOLF J. HOVDE.

*Historical Aspects of the Immigration Problem.* By Edith Abbott, Professor of Social Economy in the University of Chicago. (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1926, pp. xx, 882, \$4.50.) In this book Miss Abbott extends the service to students of immigration inaugurated in her earlier volume, *Immigration: Select Documents and Case Records*. The central idea is the same, that of assembling in convenient form important documents on the immigration question from diverse sources not easily accessible to research workers. In the opinion of the present reviewer this volume is even more valuable than the other. There is a greater catholicity in the materials, and less space is occupied by excerpts from documents not so difficult, after all, to get at, such as the *Report* of the United States Immigration Commission, and various official records of the federal and state governments. In other words, the

former book is built up largely from sources which a graduate student could not be excused from consulting for himself; the present work offers material calculated to round out and enrich the resources of the most seasoned worker in the field.

It is evident that the arrangement of these disconnected and often fragmentary selections constituted a difficult task. The author has chosen the solution of presenting them topically under five heads: I., Causes of Emigration; Emigration Conditions in the United Kingdom and Northern Europe; II., Economic Aspects of the Immigration Problem; III., Early Problems of Assimilation; IV., Pauperism and Crime and other Domestic Immigration Problems; V., Public Opinion and the Immigrant. When it is remembered that the original authors of these documents were not writing them to harmonize with any such classification it becomes obvious enough that they could not possibly be squeezed into any such frame without a tremendous amount of distortion and overlapping. Thus, for example, a student interested in discovering the causes of the old immigration would miss a considerable portion of the contribution of the book if he confined his reading to the first section. So one interested in any phase of immigration, if he wants to get what this book has to give, must read the whole book. This situation being inevitable on any system of arrangement, it is a question whether the serviceability of the book would not have been, at least, as great if the materials had simply been arranged in chronological order.

In the last analysis, however, it should not be forgotten that too much predigestion in a source-book is unwholesome. It is not a bad thing for the student of public problems to have to do some hunting for what he wants. By so doing, incidentally, he may find out a good many things that he did not anticipate. This volume will reduce the arduousness of the search, without destroying altogether the thrill of the hunt.

HENRY PRATT FAIRCHILD.

*Norwegian American Lutheranism up to 1872.* By J. Magnus Rohne, Th.D., Professor of Christianity in Luther College, Decorah, Iowa. (New York, Macmillan Company, 1926, pp. xxiv, 271, \$3.00.) This is a doctoral dissertation presented to the faculty of the Harvard Divinity School. The author, himself a Lutheran clergyman of Norwegian descent, writes with sympathy and understanding of the religious life and theological difficulties encountered by this immigrant group in establishing on American soil their version of the Lutheran State Church of Norway. At the time this immigration began the religious atmosphere of Norway had been violently agitated by the spiritual revival due mainly to the work of the great pietist, Hans Nielson Hauge. The movement was social as well as religious, and included a distinct anti-clerical tendency. These various elements were found among the early immigrants from Norway.

In the matter of church organization two distinct groups appeared: the pietistic, "low church" element, impatient of formality, the spiritual

heirs of Hans Nielson Hauge, led by a lay preacher who had little sympathy with higher education and quite naturally stressed lay activity; on the other hand the "high church" element, led by young university graduates trained in the State Church and dominated by a sincere zeal to maintain strict Lutheran orthodoxy among their fellow countrymen in America. The two groups organized separately, the high church group, organized in 1853, becoming stronger and more influential. Both played an important rôle in fostering education and culture among the Norwegians in America, establishing secondary schools and colleges, as well as publishing newspapers of both secular and religious interest. An active interest in home mission work among the Norwegians in America resulted in a steadily increasing number of congregations in Illinois, Wisconsin, Iowa, and Minnesota.

The doctrine of verbal inspiration of the Bible was a cardinal principle with these Norwegian Lutherans. Small wonder that numerous differences of opinion on points of theology arose among them. Dr. Rohne treats these theological disputes at some length; the general reader might wish that he had done violence to his title and devoted more time to "Lutherans" and less to "Lutheranism". Although preserving an admirable objectivity for the most part, he leaves little doubt that his sympathies lie with the High Church group. The English rendering of certain Norwegian idioms is not always fortunate, as for example "a term of arrest" (p. 12), and "water on his mill" (p. 122, note 24). A number of typographical errors have escaped the proof-reader's eye. A brief critical and explanatory note under important items would have improved the extensive bibliography, which includes only printed materials. There is a good index.

Although not invulnerable at all points, this is a work of sound scholarship and a real contribution, deserving of consideration by any one who attempts to write the *Kulturgeschichte* of the Northwest.

WALTHER I. BRANDT.

*Old Towpaths: the Story of the American Canal Era.* By Alvin F. Harlow. (New York and London, D. Appleton, 1926, pp. xiv, 403, \$5.00.) It may be said at once that this book justifies its subtitle: it tells the story of the American canal era. From the shadowy dreams in the minds of explorers and early colonists, and the practical beginnings in the days of Washington, the development is traced: through the period of growth, against obstacles financial and other, through the peak of achievement, and finally—in most cases—the inevitable collapse. Thus the scheme of the book is comprehensive, but it has the defects of its qualities. In attempting to cover all the significant artificial waterways from the Atlantic coast to the Mississippi, the narrative becomes crowded with names and figures, and often reads too much like a catalogue.

Three features stand out prominently: the enthusiasm and high hopes which attended the beginning of each canal enterprise, often resulting in a crazy "boom"; the remarkable prosperity and growth of population

which ensued, even when the canal itself was a lamentable failure; and the melancholy and even pathetic decline of nearly all. Optimism carried to rashness accompanied the launching of most of the canal projects. Pennsylvania expended vast sums in the effort to compete with neighboring states, and Illinois and Indiana were particularly reckless. In the latter state colossal "graft" was added to other troubles. The author naturally gives much space to the Erie, and to the familiar tale, how New York became the Empire State, and how the "canal towns", like Syracuse and Rochester, shot forward. But the growth in other sections was equally marked; for instance, he mentions Cleveland, Detroit, and Toledo as examples, and cites the influx of German population into Milwaukee and Cincinnati as a direct effect of the canals. While many failed to be money-makers, others were for a time of great value. Immense profits for years accrued to the Delaware and Hudson. Certain other features, some of them little known, are well brought out in Mr. Harlow's book: the ingenious engineering, often the work of self-taught amateurs; the use in war time of the Chesapeake and Ohio and the James River and Kanawha by the Union and Confederate governments respectively; the now forgotten but once flourishing Middlesex Canal in Massachusetts whose "stock reached \$473 [in 1803], and in the following year \$500" (p. 20); voyages of extraordinary length—one boat went from Pennsylvania via New Jersey, the Hudson, and the lakes to Montreal and return.

In conclusion there are chapters on the operation of the canals, life upon them as described by Dickens and other travellers, and the ultimate decay, which the author attributes mainly to railroads and the American mania for speed, and secondarily to destructive floods. There are a few lapses in style: *bombilation* (p. 59) is hardly in good standing. There is an unaccountable contradiction on pages 283 and 284 concerning a \$500,000 bond issue; and the value of the work is marred by the lack of an index. There is a full bibliography, though unaccompanied by any attempt at appraisal. In general, the book is one which must be consulted by all future students of the subject, and is an interesting portrayal of a vanished era.

EDMUND K. ALDEN.

*Filson Club Publications.* Number 31. (Louisville, Kentucky, J. P. Morton and Company, 1926, pp. cxxxix, 172, \$4.00.) Herewith we are served with an old-fashioned historical offering. The principal subject of the annalistic blend is the so-called "Spanish Conspiracy" of Kentucky and the relation thereto of John Brown, Harry Innes, Benjamin Sebastian, James Wilkinson, and others who were pilloried by Humphrey Marshall, more than a century ago, in an historical diatribe that then and thereafter met with greater acceptance than its subject matter warranted. Some two generations afterward, upon a partial airing by the Louisiana annalist Gayarré of the Spanish material bearing on the subject, scions of two of the original families involved attempted in turn by means of a



substantial volume to disprove and to re-establish the earlier charges. Now after another generation the present volume reprints two rare pamphlets, the fruit of personal controversies arising from the conspiracy, and publishes in extenso the famous Memorial and Expatriation Declaration of Wilkinson. The last-named documents are given from copies derived from the Pontalba Papers, but without any reference to the previous offerings of Professor W. R. Shepherd in the same field (*Am. Hist. Rev.*, IX. 469 *et seq.*) or the later discovery of the English original of the memorial in the archives of the Louisiana Historical Society.

The three documents are worth-while papers and we welcome them in this convenient form. Had they been presented in a more definitive manner, with adequate foot-notes and explanation, after a thorough examination of all available sources of information, they would have been much more valuable. As it is there is little to serve as a corrective to the personal and party bias of the chief pamphlet, William Littell's *Political Transactions in and concerning Kentucky* (Frankfort, 1806), or to explain the significance of its mate *A Letter from George Nicholas of Kentucky to his Friend in Virginia* (Lexington, 1798).

This lack of direct explanation Mr. Bodley essays to fill with his substantial Introduction. Here the author misses a chance to speak the final word on his subject. What he has given us is a lawyer's brief, composed largely of a rehash of the writers mentioned above, with a little seasoning from more obvious material, including the Innes Papers and the Madison Papers of the Library of Congress, from the Pontalba Papers, and from the Draper Manuscripts. He ignores the Wilkinson Papers of the Chicago Historical Society (which, indeed, would not have helped him greatly) and, what is more surprising, the varied assortment in the Durrett Collection of the University of Chicago. Local pride, at least, should have led to some use of the last-named source. Some slips in facts and unfounded inferences are noted and carelessness in citation, such as the persistent misspelling "Gayerre".

Had he used the Gardoqui Papers of the Durrett Collection, he would probably have had less confidence in his vindication of John Brown. But he should not have stopped there. Through convenient guides the Spanish archives are now open to direct request, and increasing stores of transcripts from those repositories are available in this country. Certainly one should not attempt a *Spanish* subject nowadays without recourse to some of this original material. Moreover there are recent studies in the field, including a few in which the reviewer has a personal interest, that Mr. Bodley might well have cited. If some of these are to be found only in obscure places, the *American Historical Review* with its ready indexes was at his service in tracing them.

ISAAC J. COX.

*The American Civil War.* By David Knowles. (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1926, pp. xii, 223, 7s. 6d.) This volume appears to have been written for the edification of the British school-children and public. As

such it must be rather confusing to its intended audience. It is too elementary for the mature student but at the same time it has too great a mass of details of military campaigns for the ordinary reader. There is a confusing oscillation between the eastern and western fronts, and surnames devoid of Christian names or initials abound throughout. One is not even certain, on occasions, which of the Johnstons or of the Lees is referred to. The opposite extreme of using nicknames and abbreviations occurs as an occasional alternative, such as Jeb Stuart (pp. 154, 191), and Fitz Lee (p. 172).

The book is a battle history throughout, except for some interesting character-sketches of the standard heroes of the era, sometimes highly tinged with theological interpretation, as on pages 112-113. There is also a two-chapter introduction devoted to the causes of the war, wherein the author acts merely as a referee between two antiquated points of view. The fundamental economic problems which, at bottom, separated the sections, are not even discovered.

The story is unbalanced in its overemphasis of eastern campaigns as compared with western; this is probably due to too complete reliance upon Lord Charnwood and G. F. R. Henderson. But then the author confesses that his sole qualification for writing the book is "a long and deep interest in this period of history". The heavy villain of the drama is George B. McClellan, who is viewed solely in the light of post-bellum prejudice, as is also Andrew Johnson, whose plan of reconstruction the author seems to confuse with the schemes of Congress.

Typographical errors are rare, but we will assume that the following mistakes belong to that class: "thirty-four [states in 1860] as against forty-nine at the present day" (p. 4); "Wingfield Scott" (p. 63); "westward" for "eastward" (p. 165); and "three years" for "two years" (p. 169). Foot-notes are scanty and are devoted to afterthoughts and revisions from the writings of Frederick Maurice and Edward Channing. In the bibliography a wrong number of volumes is attributed to the *Official Records* and to Rhodes's *History*. The scant-three-page index is of slight use.

FRED A. SHANNON.

*Canadian Opinion on the American Civil War.* By Helen G. MacDonald, Ph.D. [Columbia University Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, vol. CXIV., no. 2.] (New York, Longmans, Green, and Company, 1926, pp. 237, \$3.75.) This is a well-written book. The writer has had at her command a wide range of authorities, and, in the choice of her material, has seized upon the essential parts of such despatches, books, and newspapers as were required to illustrate her theme. The whole is digested into an interesting narrative.

The purely historical chapters, that is, those on the relations between the governments and people of the United States and Canada, can be commended almost without reserve. More attention should have been paid to the events of 1837-1838, and to the intense resentment aroused,

particularly in Upper Canada, by the aid and comfort given in the border states to the leaders of the Rebellion in those years.

The attempt to ascertain and describe that elusive thing, public opinion, is less successful. As a rule newspapers afford almost the only field for the investigator's operations, but the material found must be handled with discrimination. For Upper Canada, the newspapers chiefly used are the *Toronto Globe* and the *Toronto Leader*. No person, however, old enough to have read the *Globe* as it was in the hands of the editor of that time, George Brown, would rely upon it as the expression of any large section of public opinion. Brown, like Dana of the *Sun*, was a great personality, who aspired to form public opinion rather than to follow it, and he was often a mere voice in the wilderness. Other editors had doubtless their characteristics, which would have to be taken into account, before accepting them as indicators of public opinion.

A more reliable gauge would seem to be an appreciation as to what must have been the reactions of the play of events upon a people intensely British in sentiment. Like Americans, Canadians have a longer memory for ancient grudges than the British appear to have. The War of 1812 was less than two generations back; and all men of middle age remembered the events of 1837-1838. On minds sensitive to older impressions, the unfriendliness of influential New York journals, and the incidents connected with the *Trent* affair would have a strong influence. The effects, also, of personal contacts with Americans during the period of the Civil War are far from negligible. Many Americans from both North and South visited Canada at that time, and the opinion was very general that, in point of manners, the visitors from the North compared unfavorably with those from the South.

It is pleasant to note the correctness, and, at times, even cordiality, which marked the relations between the governments of the two countries.

WM. SMITH.

*American Opinion of German Unification, 1848-1871.* By John Gerow Gazley, Ph.D., Assistant Professor of History in Dartmouth College. [Columbia University Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, vol. CXXI.] (New York, Columbia University Press, 1926, pp. 582, \$4.50.) This industrious study was suggested by the World War and the enlarged interest in things European. The author construes his subject broadly and the book of nearly six hundred pages might be thought to be too large for the subject. The inclusion of chapters on Revolutionary Movements in Central Europe in 1848 and 1849, on the Crimean and Italian wars, and on the Schleswig-Holstein Question and the Danish War of 1864 tends to expand the study beyond reasonable bounds. It is true that the author does, in some measure, relate these chapters to his subject. American opinion concerning European affairs between 1848 and 1871 appears to have been abundant, and there is something to be said on all of these topics, but the reader can hardly escape the conclusion that the writer has given him the entire background of preparation, things de-

sirable for the writer to know but not necessary for the immediate purpose.

The study has merit. The chapters dealing with American sentiment during the Austro-Prussian War of 1866, with American opinion of France in the period 1848-1870, and with American opinion of the Franco-German War are interesting and instructive. A generation that does not remember American opinion of the Franco-German War has a reasonable desire to know what it was and why, in the main, it was so favorable to Germany. The answer is found in this book and while it is not entirely new it is a full and satisfying answer. There are few who think they can recall the attitude of Americans toward the parties to that conflict who could describe the various shadings of opinion, the differences due to politics, religion, race, and other factors that enter into what is popularly called public opinion. A section of some forty pages on the sources of American opinion in the mid-nineteenth century is a stimulating addition to the story.

J. P. BRETZ.

*Territorial Florida Journalism.* By James O. Knauss, formerly Professor in the Florida State College for Women at Tallahassee. [Publications of the Florida State Historical Society, no. 6.] (DeLand, the Society, 1926, pp. xiii, 250.) Mr. Knauss undertook the laudable task of making one variety of original material for the history of the territory of Florida available in a convenient form to students, and has performed his task in so excellent a manner that one would be delighted if only there were such a manual for every state. He has spared no effort in search, from Florida to Massachusetts, and has furnished not only lists and guidance but illumination of the whole subject. First giving a brief history of the territory from the taking of formal possession by the United States in July, 1821, to admission as a state in 1845, he gives in full detail the history of forty-five newspapers, beginning with the *Florida Gazette*, of which the first number seems to have appeared, in St. Augustine, on July 14, 1821. Of 6800 issues of all papers, copies of about 3600 have been preserved. There are sixteen of which no single copy seems to have survived. After the history of the newspapers—of St. Augustine, Pensacola, Tallahassee, Apalachicola, St. Joseph, Jacksonville, Key West—Mr. Knauss gives a very interesting biographical chapter on the newspaper men, embracing sketches of some forty editors. Then follows a check-list of these Florida newspapers, showing all copies located, and filling forty pages of the volume; the last hundred (except for the bibliography and the index) are occupied with the reports from the *St. Joseph Times* and the Tallahassee *Floridian* of the proceedings and debates of the St. Joseph Convention of 1838-1839, which drew up Florida's first constitution.

*The Father of the Church in Tennessee or the Life, Times, and Character of the Right Reverend Richard Pius Miles, O.P., the First Bishop of Nashville.* By the Very Reverend V. F. O'Daniel, O.P., S.T.M.,

Litt.D. (New York and Cincinnati, Frederick Pustet, 1926, pp. xiv, 607, \$4.00.) To his four earlier volumes on Dominicans in the United States, Father O'Daniel adds the history of the life of Bishop Miles of Nashville, Tennessee. After birth in Maryland in 1791 Richard Miles was taken to Kentucky by his father. Entering the novitiate of the Dominicans at St. Rose at an early age, he was ordained priest in the order in 1816 and began immediately to teach in the college of St. Thomas, Kentucky. Having risen on April 22, 1837, to the highest position in his order in the United States, that of provincial, Father Miles was next elevated to the episcopacy in 1838, having been chosen for the see of Nashville in the preceding year. The diocese of Nashville embracing the state of Tennessee had been just created and, as is usually the case in such creations, offered some prospect of future growth with but little consolation for the actual incumbent of the office of bishop. To tell of the work of Bishop Miles, we quote the résumé by Father O'Daniel: "On his arrival in Nashville, he found himself alone—without a priest; practically without a church; without scrip or purse; without a house; or even a place whereon to lay his head. When he died, tells us the Catholic Almanac, he left thirteen clergymen; fourteen churches, built or under way; thirty stations; a theological seminary; three communities of sisters; one academy for girls; nine parochial schools, an orphanage; and about twelve thousand Catholics." Bishop Miles died in 1860.

The author is in his happiest mood after he reaches chapter XI., page 260. Then he begins to let his sources tell their story. Previously the author labors excessively to reach some conclusion as a result of his many researches, but finds himself concluding, or sometimes indeed prefacing, with the trite phrase "tradition tells us". As a consequence the careful reader finds himself on no sure foundation, a particularly annoying situation when the tradition is not at all defined. The first part is, therefore, disappointing. Much that is hardly relevant, *e.g.*, the story of the Baltimore colony in Maryland, the beginnings of Catholicity in Ohio, the establishment of the Dominican nuns in Kentucky, may have been inserted for the general reader, for whom the author professes to write. Chapter XX., *Résumé, Persons, Places*, might have been excluded. With these and other omissions or condensations properly made the book would not be so ponderous. The history of the subject scarcely merits the size of the volume.

A few strange expressions of style occur. The illustrations while numerous are not always good. Seven pages are given to list the bibliography and twenty-five pages to an exhaustive index. The format of the book conforms to that of the other books which the author has written.

JOHN H. LAMOTT.

*Old Fort Crawford and the Frontier.* By Bruce E. Mahan. (Iowa City, State Historical Society of Iowa, 1926, pp. xv, 349, \$3.00.) This book treats of frontier incidents having a military aspect in an area which may be defined as the upper Mississippi, the lands adjacent to the river, and

the waterways connecting with it. The period is practically from 1814, date of the founding of Fort Shelby at Prairie du Chien, to the abandonment of the last Fort Crawford in 1849, though the prologue takes one back to Jean Nicolet and the epilogue carries forward to the disposal of the Fort Crawford property by the government in 1868. The trench of the Father of Waters, like a barometric tube, tends to confine the play of life incidents in both directions from Prairie du Chien, which is the zero point on the river. Indian negotiations, beginning with the ill-starred Harrison treaty of 1804, are presented, some of them in their dramatic settings. This is particularly true of the great inter-tribal council held at Prairie du Chien in August, 1825. The volume concludes with two highly interesting chapters on Glimpses of Garrison Life and the End of Military Rule.

The author's plan, obviously, was to set forth a series of striking episodes in the frontier history of the region (emphasizing Iowa) in an engaging style. That task he has performed with much more than ordinary success; the book is decidedly readable. Another, dealing with the same subject, would have condensed the narrative—particularly in the first one-fifth of the volume—and devoted more attention to an interpretation of the events, many of which are matters of common knowledge justifying summarization. On a theme such as this one would like to see what a writer with Mr. Mahan's adequate knowledge could have done in one-half the number of pages.

The proof-reading was not all that could be desired, else William H. Crawford would not be credited to Virginia (p. 71), John Cleves Symmes would not stand as John Cleve Symmes (p. 49), and the printer's bungling of the third paragraph on page 45 would have been caught and corrected. But these are details. As a whole the volume makes a splendid impression.

J. S.

*Historic Ravenswood: its Founders and its Cattle* (privately printed, pp. 158), by John Ashton, Ph.D., of the College of Agriculture of the University of Missouri, is the story of three generations of the Leonard family and their development, on Ravenswood farm in Cooper County, Missouri, of one of the most notable herds of shorthorn cattle in America. Preliminary to his main theme the author traces through several chapters the history of the shorthorn breeds in England, from their earliest known beginnings to the high standard and distinct characteristics achieved by a number of breeders in the later eighteenth century, and the earliest importations to America. The Ravenswood herd had its beginnings in 1839, when Nathaniel Leonard, with the co-operation of his brother, Benjamin G. Leonard, brought from Ohio a number of pedigreed cattle, themselves out of herds created principally from recent importations from England. On the excellent foundation laid by Nathaniel Leonard during the twenty-five or thirty years thereafter, Capt. Charles E. Leonard, his son, built up the Ravenswood herd until it became, as the author expresses



it, "the most famous Shorthorn shrine west of the Mississippi river", and the latter's son, N. Nelson Leonard, has kept up the standard and reputation of the herd to the present time. The real heroes of this story are bulls; they are the kings, although the queens, princes, and princesses of the blood royal contribute much to the glory of shorthorn history. The Leonards were king-makers. Included in the volume are a number of letters relating particularly to the foundation of the herd and incidentally casting light on the economic history of the region.

*The Cowboy and his Interpreters.* By Douglas Branch. (New York and London, D. Appleton and Company, 1926, pp. x, 277, \$2.50.) This volume is a unique attempt at correlation of history and literature. A study of the real cowboy is followed by a survey of the same figure as he appears in the fiction of the last generation, the comparison affording a criterion of the fidelity of the literary portrayals. Ten chapters present the historical study, tracing the origin of the cattle industry and describing its chief features—ranch routine, the round-up, the long drive northward over the "old Chisholm trail" or some other, and the cowboy himself, from outfit to outlook on life. Six more chapters review the fiction inspired by western themes, from Ned Buntline to Zane Grey.

Mr. Branch finds that cattle country fiction reached its best in Emerson Hough's *North of 36*, next to which comes *West is West*, by Eugene M. Rhodes, and *The Ridin' Kid from Powder River*, by Henry H. Knibbs. "Both these 'literary novelists' are of the range; one, Rhodes, was himself a cowboy for twenty-five years. Knibbs has written cowboy songs that the cowboys have made a part of their own folk-lore." As for Grey and most contemporaries, "they have fallen into the pattern—evil . . . the novels are dreams made to order . . . not based in their characterizations and in their motives on the truth of human experience".

The reader may be interested to learn that the author is a college youth hardly out of his teens. No apology need be offered on this score, for he combines marked literary gifts with the power to use historical evidence judiciously. In its published form the study dispenses with foot-notes—and, unfortunately, with index—but there is internal evidence of commendable effort to maintain a critical attitude, and the bibliography of a hundred titles bears witness to considerable research.

HOMER C. HOCKETT.

*Experiments in Colorado Colonization, 1869-1872; Selected Contemporary Records relating to the German Colonization Company and the Chicago-Colorado, St. Louis-Western, and Southwestern Colonies.* Edited by James F. Willard, Ph.D., and Colin B. Goodykoontz, Ph.D. [University of Colorado Historical Collections, vol. III.] (Boulder, University of Colorado, 1926, pp. xxxvii, 483, \$3.00.) This is a second and companion volume to Willard's *The Union Colony at Greeley, Colorado*, published in the Colony Series of the same collections. Its main purpose is to present all pertinent materials that could be found on the foundation and early history of four Colorado colonies. In addition

some items, chiefly from newspapers, have been included on land development and town-site schemes advertising themselves as colonies. The introduction by Dr. Goodykoontz indicates suggestively but briefly the significance of the colony movement in the growth of Colorado. It also makes useful discriminations between co-operative, semi-co-operative, and non-co-operative colonies, and contrasts these with other land exploitation plans. Herein the reader will miss and wish for reference to similar situations in other states of the western area during the decade after the Civil War—while recognizing that the theme of the sketch is properly limited in scope. The main value of the book is that it makes accessible materials for an understanding of an important phase of westward movements, both from the standpoint of pioneer settlers and from that of land-grant railroads having the problem of making their holdings into live assets. Students of local history in Colorado will find this work of special interest.

A reviewer wonders why the scholarly editors accepted so defective and ill-organized translations of the one interesting personal expense account. Either the translation should have been omitted or it should be given a logical and complete form. Use of the index also reveals serious defects. Not even the *caveat* at the beginning justifies the omission of topical references to important subjects—*e.g.*, banks, churches, education, libraries, newspapers, schools. Indexes of names of persons are valuable, but they leave much to be desired.

C. A. D.

*The Northcliffe Collection, presented to the Government of Canada by Sir Leicester Harmsworth, Baronet, as a Memorial to his Brother, the Right Honourable Alfred Charles William Harmsworth, Viscount Northcliffe.* (Ottawa, Public Archives, 1926, pp. x, 464.) This volume is an excellent, well-printed, and handsomely illustrated calendar of the vast collection of manuscripts, printed material, and portraits given to Canada by Sir Leicester Harmsworth, Bt., as a memorial to his brother, the late Lord Northcliffe. These documents and memorabilia are, we infer, preserved in the archives at Ottawa. For the most part they consist of the papers of General Robert Monckton, who held various American commands during the Seven Years' War, and of Brigadier-General George Townshend, who played an important part in the capture of Quebec in 1759. They are supplemented by a number of maps, some in manuscript others in print, pertaining to the French and Indian wars and to the early years of the American Revolution. Incidentally the collection also includes the last letter written by Wolfe and the last letter written by Montcalm.

The Monckton papers begin with Monckton's activities in Nova Scotia in 1752 and continue through his expedition to Martinique in 1761-1762. Of especial general interest are the letters concerning the deportation of the Acadians, Wolfe's "Scheme for Improving the Colony" (written after the capture of Louisbourg in 1758), Wolfe's letters to Monckton

written during the Quebec campaign, and Amherst's letters to Monckton, November, 1758, to September, 1763. Although a cursory reading of the calendar does not suggest that these papers will make it necessary to rewrite the history of the conquest of Canada, it is clear that future biographers of James Wolfe or of Jeffery Amherst will rejoice in the material which they will find in this collection. Wolfe's scorn for the Americans as soldiers is well known, and it re-appears here in an *obiter dictum* of his "Scheme". "The American Rangers are for the most part, Lazy cowardly People—the best men they get upon the Continent for that Service are Irish Vagabonds, and Convicts" (p. 110). Of more significance historically is his evident expectation that after the war Canada, though "reduc'd", would remain a part of the French Empire, that is, New France north of the St. Lawrence, Lake Ontario, and the Ohio Valley (p. 111).

The Townshend papers are few in number when compared with the Monckton series, but they form a vivid and valuable chronicle of the campaign that culminated in the battle of the Plains of Abraham and the surrender of Quebec. The narrative continues through the long winter of 1759-1760, the battle of Sainte-Foy, and the raising of the siege in the spring.

Among the separate items in the Northcliffe Collection probably the most interesting is Wolfe's order-book from December 22, 1748, until September 12, 1759. Of sentimental value at least are twenty-four volumes that were in Wolfe's library at Blackheath. In his will Wolfe bequeathed them to Colonel Guy Carleton, who later became governor of Quebec. Two of the volumes appear to have been a present to Wolfe from a French officer after the capture of Louisbourg in 1758.

Canada is to be congratulated upon the acquisition of this valuable collection and upon the preparation and publication of a calendar worthy of Sir Leicester Harmsworth's magnificent gift.

LAWRENCE S. MAYO.

*Viceregal Administration in the Spanish-American Colonies.* By Lillian Estelle Fisher. [University of California Publications in History, XV.] (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1926, pp. x, 398, \$5.00.) This volume is written in view of the need for a "comprehensive study of the viceregal administration in the Spanish American colonies", and in it according to the author "the administrative functions of the viceroy are presented as they existed in New Spain and South America during the whole colonial period". It is based upon a study of instructions or memorias which the viceroys left to their successors, royal instructions, the laws of the Indies, royal cédulas, and secondary works.

The first chapter dealing with the powers and limitations of the viceroy gives a general survey of the office including the organization of the viceroyalties, character of the men who held the office, term, salary, reception, distinctions, and privileges, and an outline of powers and limitations of various kinds with special reference to the intendencies

and the residencia. Then follow seven additional chapters dealing in detail with the various phases of the viceregal administration. In these are treated the viceroy's administrative activities both local and general, his fiscal and financial powers, his relationship to the Audiencia including legislative and judicial powers, his duties as vice-patron in connection with religious and educational activities, and his relationship to the various groups of people of the colony. These latter chapters are composed mainly of many facts and incidents taken more or less at random through the three hundred years of Spanish rule in America and hardly suffice to give the best idea of the growth and development of the viceregal institution.

Study was made principally of materials relating to New Spain, with some reference to Peru and very minor mention of New Granada and La Plata. This fact is manifest from the vast preponderance of citations referring to the viceroyalty of New Spain as well as from the bibliographical lists which are appended. Of the manuscripts cited all relate to New Spain; of the twenty-nine titles of printed documents and laws seventeen relate to New Spain, eight to Peru, and none to either New Granada or La Plata; and of the remaining 135 titles of bibliography fifty-eight relate to New Spain, three to Peru, one to New Granada, and none to La Plata. The other items of bibliography are of a general nature. Of the vast number of documents concerning the viceregal administration existing in the various Spanish archives, only a small number have been utilized in the study. There are appendixes giving lists of the viceroys of the four Spanish viceroyalties, and a good index.

Notwithstanding that the title should be "Viceregal Administration in New Spain", this volume nevertheless presents the best treatment so far published of the viceregal administration of the Spanish colonial period.

## COMMUNICATION

George Washington University,  
WASHINGTON, D. C., Jan. 25, 1927.

THE EDITOR

*American Historical Review*

Dear Sir: On page 328, lines 7-9, of my recently published *Pinckney's Treaty, a Study of America's Advantage from Europe's Distress, 1783-1800*,<sup>1</sup> occurs the following: "He [Dr. A. P. Whitaker] informed me that he found no evidence that the text of the treaty reached the Spanish Government before Godoy signed with Pinckney." Dr. Whitaker recently has written to me that this is a misrepresentation of the statements he made to me on the subject, that all he stated was that in August, 1795, when it decided to surrender the two principal points at issue with the United States, the Spanish ministry had not learned of the contents of Jay's Treaty. This misrepresentation was unintentional on my part, arising out of a misinterpretation of a letter which he wrote me. I wish to avail myself of this opportunity to rectify it.

Incidentally may I call attention to a serious misprint on p. 380, next to the last line? The figure there given for loans should be \$248,098.

Respectfully yours,

SAMUEL FLAGG BEMIS.

TO THE EDITORS OF THE *American Historical Review*:

I wish to state that for whatever errors of omission or commission are in the first volume of the *Winthrop Papers*, printed by the Massachusetts Historical Society, and reviewed in your last number, page 328, I alone am responsible. Neither Professor Moore nor Mr. Winthrop can be held directly or indirectly to account for them.

Very truly yours,

WORTHINGTON C. FORD.

Boston, February 16, 1927.

<sup>1</sup>See p. 616, *supra*.

## HISTORICAL NEWS

At the present time the following back-numbers of the *American Historical Review* can not be supplied by our publishers: vol. XVI., nos. 1 and 3 (October, 1910, April, 1911); vol. XXIII., no. 4 (July, 1918); vol. XXIV., no. 1 (October, 1918); vol. XXVI., no. 1 (October, 1920); vol. XXXI., nos. 1 and 2 (October, 1925, January, 1926); vol. XXXII., no. 1 (October, 1926). If any of these numbers are in the hands of readers who do not care to retain them for their files, the Managing Editor would appreciate it very much if they would send them to 1140 Woodward Building, Washington, D. C. The *Review* will bear any expense that may be incurred for express or postage.

### AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

The *Annual Report* for 1921 has been distributed; see above, p. 656.

The annual meeting of the American Council of Learned Societies was held in New York on January 29, the American Historical Association being represented by its two delegates, Professor C. H. Haskins and J. F. Jameson. It was preceded by a conference of the secretaries of the constituent societies on the day before. Reports were made to the Council by its various committees, and will be printed in the next number of the Council's *Bulletin* (no. 6). The survey of the status and organization of research in humanistic studies in the United States, conducted by Professor Ogg, was reported as nearing completion. The gratifying announcement was made that the General Education Board had voted a grant of funds not exceeding \$25,000 per annum, for five years, to provide the Council with means for carrying on its various work and that of its committees. This makes possible the engagement of a full-time executive secretary. Mr. Waldo G. Leland was chosen to that office, and begins work in that capacity next summer. Three more societies, additional to the twelve that now constitute the Council, were admitted at this meeting, the Mediaeval Academy of America, the History of Science Society, and the Linguistic Society of America.

### PERSONAL

James Ford Rhodes, president of the American Historical Association in 1899, died on January 22, aged seventy-eight. Occupied with manufacturing business during his early life, he turned from this, when nearly forty, to the writing of history, having resolved to write an extensive work on the history of the United States in the extraordinary period of Civil War and Reconstruction. Without great technical training in the historian's art, he brought to its exercise abundant experience of practical life, and a solid determination to be thorough, to be open-minded, and to



be just. No one was ever more candid in intention, more desirous to tell the truth. He had moreover many contacts with men prominent in public life, of the period he treated, and was framed by nature to draw profit from their converse. "No one", wrote John Hay, apparently in a letter to Mr. Rhodes, "can be a great historian who is not a good fellow"; Rhodes was eminently sociable, genial without loss of dignity, generous, and of transparent integrity. The fruits of his thorough research in the most varied materials, and of his insight into public affairs, were laid before the world in the years from 1892 to 1906, in the seven volumes of his *History of the United States from the Compromise of 1850 to the Final Restoration of Home Rule at the South in 1877*. That work has long since won its place as the standard history of a great period in the development of the United States and of a struggle having momentous consequences for the whole world. Limited in the main to political and military history, and marked by no great charm of literary style, beyond the attractive power of a manly simplicity, it won its classical position by the solid merits of careful research and of fairness in a field where fairness had long been difficult. Two later volumes, a *History of the United States from Hayes to McKinley* (1919) and *The McKinley and Roosevelt Administrations* (1922), though less careful and thorough in construction, contain much excellent material, and reveal more fully the writer's nearness to public life and the friendly and unpretending personality of the man.

Hon. Simeon E. Baldwin, president of the American Historical Association for the year 1906, died on January 30, within a few days of the age of eighty-seven. For fifty years, 1869 to 1919, he had taught in the Yale Law School; he had been an associate justice of the Supreme Court of Errors of Connecticut from 1893 to 1907, chief justice from 1907 to 1911, and governor of the state from 1911 to 1915. He had been president of the American Bar Association and had done important legislative work in the improvement of legal procedure in Connecticut. Governor Baldwin, besides being a high legal authority and an excellent historical scholar, was a man of wide reading and penetrating intelligence. He was a man of the highest type of Puritan character, as befitted one whose ancestors had long had an important part in the life of his commonwealth: in spite of much austerity of manner his life was marked, not only by constant public spirit, but by many private acts of benevolence and kindness.

Miss Lucy M. Salmon, professor of history in Vassar College since 1889 (associate professor 1887-1889), died on February 14 at the age of seventy-three. For four years (1915-1919) she was a member of the Executive Council of the American Historical Association, and in 1904 she was president of the Association of History Teachers of the Middle States and Maryland. Her principal historical publications were two valued volumes on *The Newspaper and the Historian*, *The Newspaper and Authority* (1923). She was a devoted and thoughtful teacher, a loyal

and considerate friend, and a source of high influence and good counsel to two generations of young women. In the last year of her life she had the gratification of seeing a fund of nearly \$40,000 instituted in her honor by former pupils and other friends, the Lucy Maynard Salmon Research Fund, designed to aid researches by members of the Vassar faculty.

William Beer, who for thirty-five years had been librarian of the Howard Memorial Library at New Orleans, and as such had been the active friend of every scholar occupied in the pursuit of any part of Louisiana history, died on February 1, at the age of seventy-seven. Born in England, he had studied and practised medicine at Newcastle-on-Tyne, had worked in Colorado as a mining engineer, and had been librarian of the Topeka Public Library before taking charge, in 1891, of the Howard Memorial Library. He built up that institution into an extraordinary collection of material for the history of Louisiana, old and modern, and of the whole Louisiana territory. He was a man of most varied intellectual interests. His learning and assiduity as a bibliographer were matched by his unwearied zeal in helping scholars and by the warmth and range of his friendships.

Samuel B. Harding, professor of history in the University of Minnesota, died on January 29, at the age of fifty. For twenty-three years he had taught history in Indiana University. During the World War he did important and valuable editorial work for the Committee on Public Information. He had been a professor in the University of Minnesota since 1921. He was the author of several useful and esteemed historical text-books, and was a man of accurate scholarship, sound judgment, unusual teaching ability, and solid and friendly character.

Late in October occurred the death of Professor Harry Bresslau, professor at Berlin of the sciences auxiliary to history from 1877 to 1890, and at Strassburg from 1890 to the end of the war. He had a large share in the work of the *Monumenta*, and edited the *Jahrbücher des Deutschen Reichs* for Henry II. (1874-1875) and for Conrad II. (1879-1884), but was best known for his *Handbuch der Urkundenlehre* (1889, 1912-1915) and as a master of diplomatic, in which field he published many articles and documents.

Professor Herbert D. Foster of Dartmouth University will be in Europe on leave of absence from the coming June till September, 1928.

Professor Charles Diehl, of the University of Paris, is visiting lecturer in the department of arts at Harvard University during the second semester of the present academic year, and will be lecturing in America during the summer at various places on medieval Byzantine society and similar subjects.

Fellowships of the John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Fund have been awarded for 1927-1928 to the following scholars, who, it may be presumed, will be conducting historical researches in Europe next year: Professors E. M. Carroll, F. C. Dietz, F. L. Owsley, R. J. Purcell, J. F. Rippy, B. E. Schmitt, G. M. Stephenson, and Judith B. Williams.

Professor Verner W. Crane of Brown University is on leave of absence in England, from February to September of the present year.

Professor Bernard Fay, of the University of Clermont-Ferrand, is lecturing at Columbia University during the present semester.

Robert Fortenbaugh has been made Adaline Sager Professor of History in Gettysburg College.

Dr. Dumas Malone, promoted from associate professor to professor of history in the University of Virginia, serves during the second half of the present year as visiting professor of American history in Yale University. His work at Charlottesville will, during that period, be conducted by Mr. Henry H. Simms, recently of Washington and Lee and of Columbia universities. Lester J. Cappon has been appointed research associate in history in connection with the Institute for Research in the Social Sciences at Charlottesville, and will be engaged in compiling the economic section of a bibliography of Southern history since Reconstruction. Raphael Semmes, now assistant professor in Trinity College, Hartford, Conn., has also been appointed research associate professor of history in the University of Virginia.

Dr. Kathleen Bruce, formerly of Wheaton College, has been appointed professor of history in the College of William and Mary.

Professor William T. Laprade of Duke University is on leave of absence, spending the present academic year in London.

Dr. Curtis H. Walker, formerly of Rice Institute, has been appointed professor of European history in Vanderbilt University.

Professor C. B. Goodykoontz, of the University of Colorado, will spend the year 1927-1928 on sabbatical leave in the Eastern states and in Europe.

Professor Archer B. Hulbert, of Colorado College, who had a half-year's leave of absence last year, has another in the present academic year in order to make investigations in various libraries for the forthcoming publication of volumes for the Stewart Commission on Western History.

The following appointments for summer schools are noted: Professor James F. Willard of the University of Colorado is to teach in Cornell University; Professor Percy S. Flippin of Mercer University in the University of North Carolina; Professor William O. Lynch of Indiana University in the University of Alabama; Professor Howard Robinson of Miami University in the Western Reserve University; and Professors Carl F. Brand and Ralph H. Lutz of Stanford University in the University of Washington.

#### GENERAL

The tentative plans for the Sixth International Congress of Historical Sciences, to be held in Oslo on August 14-18, 1928, have already been announced in our last issue, (p. 384). At its annual meeting in Decem-

ber, the American Historical Association appointed a committee to organize the participation of American scholars in the Congress, consisting of Messrs. Waldo G. Leland, chairman, J. Franklin Jameson, L. M. Larson, W. E. Lingelbach, Wallace Notestein, and Waldemar Westergaard. The committee will be glad to hear from any American historical scholars who propose to attend the Congress or who have merely hopes, at this time, of so doing. It is to be noted that those who desire to proceed to the Congress in company with scholars from other countries can do so either from Antwerp, where they will be able to secure reduced rates on Norwegian steamers and from which port probably all the French and Belgian, and also many of the Dutch and other Continental scholars will sail, or from England, where they can join with British scholars and can probably also benefit from a reduction in the regular fare. It is also possible to sail directly from New York to Oslo on steamers of the Norwegian American Line. All who wish to take advantage of such reduced rates as may be available from Antwerp or from a British port are requested to notify the committee at an early date.

It is the hope of the committee that American scholarship may be represented at Oslo by an appropriate number of communications of a high character. It is to be noted that the committee on the organization of the Congress will accept papers only through the medium and with the recommendation of the various national committees. It is necessary therefore that all American communications should be submitted first to the American committee. While this body will endeavor to secure papers from a number of American scholars it does not wish to discourage voluntary offerings, and will be glad to correspond with any who desire to read a paper before the Congress. The following recommendations are offered by the committee for the guidance of possible participants: papers should fit into the scheme of the Congress as outlined in the January number of the *Review*; they should be sufficiently general to be of interest to the audience that will listen to them, and subjects of a very restricted character or of local interest should be avoided; papers in American history most likely to be of interest are those that deal with international relations, social, intellectual, economic, or political, or that set forth important American historical processes, or that deal with the history of European elements in American population and culture; papers are especially desired that may give rise to discussion, or that may emphasize new points of view, or that may sum up and generalize recent scientific progress; finally, papers must be of such length that they can be read, clearly and slowly, in half an hour—longer papers can be admitted to the programme only by special arrangement. The American committee requests that the subjects of proposed papers may be submitted to it as early as possible, even though writers may not yet be sure of attending the Congress. Abstracts of papers offered must be in the hands of the committee not later than January 15, 1928. Correspondence on the subject of the Congress may be with the chairman of the American

committee, 1140 Woodward Building, Washington, D. C., or with any of its members. Until Mr. Leland, the chairman, returns to the United States, in July, Mr. Jameson undertakes to act for him.

It is perhaps well known that the Library of Mr. Henry E. Huntington at San Gabriel, in Southern California, is now the greatest private library in the world, containing something over 200,000 books, abounding in rarities, and more than a million pieces of manuscript. Great importance therefore attaches to the announcement that its trustees have adopted a definite policy for the development of the Huntington Library and Art Gallery into a research institution for the study of the history, art, literature, and science of England and America. Mr. Huntington has approved the plan and has agreed to make adequate financial provision for the undertaking. The plan calls for a permanent research staff, of which the director will be Professor Max Farrand, formerly of Yale University, now director of the Division of Education of the Commonwealth Fund. Dr. Farrand will begin with his new duties in October. It is important to observe that, the present library building having been erected simply to house a collection, the transition from the present status to that which is now contemplated will consume several years, and no large expectations of immediate opportunities for research should be entertained. Meanwhile it is exceedingly gratifying to know that, by Mr. Huntington's public-spirited munificence, a research institution of extraordinary value for the humanities, comparable to our research institutions for the physical sciences, will ultimately be provided.

The Sixty-ninth Congress, in its final session, made the usual appropriation of \$7000 for the printing of the *Annual Reports* of the American Historical Association. It also appropriated \$20,000 for continuance of editorial work upon the Territorial Papers. Additional legislation introduced by Senator Fess, authorizing the printing of this important collection of historical material, passed the Senate by unanimous consent, but at so late a date that it failed of consideration in the House. The failure of Congress to pass the second deficiency appropriation bill, though it affected progress on some of the public buildings in Washington, had no delaying effect upon the National Archive Building. Condemnation proceedings for acquiring the site for that building, in the area bounded by Twelfth and Thirteenth streets, C street and Pennsylvania avenue, were begun in January.

The American Catholic Historical Association held its seventh annual meeting in Philadelphia on December 27 and 28, with headquarters at the Hotel Bellevue-Stratford, under the presidency of Professor Parker T. Moon of Columbia University. Among the papers read we may especially mention that of the Very Rev. Francis E. Tourscher, O.S.A., on Catholic Historical Scholarship in the United States, that of Dr. James J. Walsh on the Catholic Background to the Discovery of America, that of Mr. James Breen on the Catholic Participation in the War of Independence, and three biographical articles, on Mathew Carey, on Prince

Gallitzin, and on Thomas FitzSimons, by Messrs. Edward J. Galbally, Lawrence F. Flick, and Michael J. Ryan, respectively. Dr. Moon's presidential address was on the subject of Catholic interest in internationalism. There was a special conference on the proposed *Guide to the Printed Materials for American Catholic History*.

The American Society of Church History held its twentieth annual meeting in New York on December 27. The presidential address, by Professor W. W. Rockwell, of Union Theological Seminary, was on Bias in the Writing of Church History. The teaching of church history was discussed, and there were papers on Cyprian *De Ecclesiae Unitate*, on the efforts of the early Dutch pastors in New Netherland for the conversion of negro slaves, and other topics.

The Economic History Society published in January the first number of the new *Economic History Review*, edited by Messrs. E. Lipson and R. H. Tawney, of which we have spoken in former numbers as forthcoming. It is a journal which, if subsequent numbers approach the standard of the first, will be of the greatest value and will take high rank among historical journals. The present number opens with a brief paper by Sir William Ashley, on the Place of Economic History in University Studies, read at the Anglo-American Conference of Professors and Teachers of History last July. This is followed by an article on the Rise and Development of Economic History, chiefly in Great Britain and America, by Professor N. S. B. Gras of Minnesota; by two lectures by the late Professor George Unwin, of Manchester, on the Merchant Adventurers' Company in the Reign of Elizabeth, its relation to the development of trade and industry, especially the cloth industry; a paper on the Financial Organization of the Manor, by A. E. Levett; one on the Small Land Owner, 1780-1832, in the light of the land tax assessments, by E. Davies; one on a Neglected Aspect of the Relations between Economic and Legal History, by Professor W. S. Holdsworth; one on Northamptonshire Wage Assessments of 1560-1667, by Professor Bertha H. Putnam of Mt. Holyoke College; and a comprehensive survey of Recent Work in French Economic History, by Professor Henri Sée of Rennes. There are also a dozen brief reviews of books.

The *Bulletin* of the Institute of Historical Research for November, IV. 2, contains an account of the International Union of Academies and the American Council of Learned Societies by Mr. Waldo G. Leland, and a full report of the Anglo-American Conference of Historians held in London last July.

The December number of the *Historical Outlook* contains an article by Professor Justin H. Smith on the Art of Writing History; one by Dr. N. G. Goodman entitled Thomas Jefferson: a Really Wonderful, All-round Man; and one by W. F. Dunbar entitled Why We Behave like Americans. In the January number Professor E. R. Perkins has an article entitled Antedating the Founding Fathers, and Julie Koch dis-



cusses the Diary of the Itinerant Preacher as Source Material. The February number contains an account of the Rochester meeting of the American Historical Association, reported by Professor R. H. Shryock. In the March number is a suggestive paper by Professor M. W. Jernegan on the Colleges and Historical Research, being one of the fruits of the questionnaire recently submitted by him to doctors of philosophy in history. Slavery in the Territories under the Compromise of 1850 is an article by Esther B. Sharpe of the University High School of Iowa City.

Briefest of the new French co-operative histories, the *Histoire Générale des Peuples de l'Antiquité à nos Jours*, edited by Maxime Petit, has arrived first at completion (Paris, Larousse, 1925-1926, 3 vols., pp. xii, 388, 412, 408, profusely illustrated). Though the work is of a popular nature, the collaborators have not sacrificed scholarship to condensation; in the last volume, the chapters on the political history of the period from the Revolution to the Restoration inclusive by Pierre Rain, on the diplomatic and military history of the Second Empire by Albert Pingaud, and on the military operations of the World War by Colonel Duffour and Commandant Desmazes, together with M. Petit's summary of the peace negotiations, have received especial praise.

A new revised edition of Lavis and Rambaud's *Histoire Générale* with corrections and modernized bibliographies has been published by Colin; the work was begun before the war and is now finished.

The Rumanian scholar, N. Jorga, who is notable for his thirty years of activity in Balkan studies, has undertaken the somewhat ambitious project of synthesizing, unaided, the whole past of the human race. The first volume of his *Essai de Synthèse de l'Histoire de l'Humanité* is concerned with *Histoire Ancienne* (Paris, Gamber, 1926, pp. x, 390).

The *Journal of Negro History* for January has an article by C. W. Birnie on the Education of the Negro in Charleston, S. C., before the Civil War, which supplements Dr. Woodson's general work on *Education of the Negro Prior to 1861*. Some documents are given relating to royal disallowance of colonial acts adverse to the slave trade; five characteristic letters of William Lloyd Garrison (e.g., 1834, "Two or three years ago, when I was laboring as it were single handed to destroy those two great monsters, Slavery and the American Colonization Society", etc.); a group of letters from Minnesota, 1866-1872, by George Bonga, Indian-negro half-breed; and some forty pages in Spanish, from the Archives of the Indies, of documents of 1609-1646 relating to the negroes of Cuba.

The University of Chicago's third volume of *Abstracts of Theses in the Humanistic Departments, 1924-1925*, includes brief summaries of ten or eleven historical dissertations, offered in the historical and other departments. Summaries will be found, in the volume, of dissertations on: Early British Relations with Ireland and Brittany (Slover); the Huguenots in South Carolina (Hirsch); the Springfield Armory (Whittlesey); the St. Lawrence Waterway as a Factor in International Trade and Poli-

tics, 1783-1854 (Brown); Jefferson Davis and his Generals (James); Ohio in National Politics, 1865-1896 (Moore); the Populist Movement in Iowa (Nixon); Roosevelt's Policy in the Caribbean (Hill); the Financial History of the American Telephone and Telegraph Company (Stehman); and the History of the United Typothetae of America (Powell).

The American Library in Paris has prepared and mimeographed a folio book of 284 pages, *Official Publications of European Governments*, which, without pretending to bibliographical completeness or perfection, will as "first aid" meet many needs of librarians and historical students.

The Jewish Publication Society of America announces the publication, made possible by the generosity of the late Miss Rosetta M. Ulman, of Williamsport, Pa., of a History of the Jews, in one volume, by Max Margolis and Alexander Marx.

Professor Wesley C. Mitchell and Dr. Willard L. Thorp have brought out, through the National Bureau of Economic Research, a survey of the history and analysis of business in seventeen different countries through periods covering from 36 to 136 years, ending with 1925, entitled *Business Annals*. Besides dealing with domestic and foreign business activity, employment, prices, markets, and agriculture, the book discusses the influence of non-economic events, such as wars, political unrest, epidemics, and natural catastrophes upon economic life. There is an extensive list of references and the annals are preceded by Dr. Mitchell's analysis, Business Cycles as revealed by Business Annals.

The Oxford University Press announces a new work by Professor Griffith Taylor, of the University of Sydney, entitled, *Environment and Race: a Study of the Evolution, Migration, Settlement, and Status of the Races of Man*.

*National Character and the Factors in its Foundation* (London, Methuen), by Principal Ernest Barker of King's College, London, is based on the Stevenson Lectures delivered in the University of Glasgow in the winter of 1924-1925.

Mr. O. G. S. Crawford, archaeology officer of the Ordnance Survey of Great Britain, will edit and publish a quarterly review entitled *Antiquity*, containing archaeological and sometimes historical articles. The first number is expected to be issued in March of the present year.

Mr. F. H. Colson's *The Week* (Cambridge University Press) is explained by the subtitle, "An Essay on the Origin and Development of the Seven-Day Cycle".

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: *What is History?* (London Times, Literary Supplement, October 16); Henri Sée, *L'Idée d'Évolution en Histoire* (Revue Philosophique de la France et de l'Étranger, July, September); W. Deonna, *Terminologie Historique; il n'y a pas de "Pré-histoire"* (Revue de Synthèse Historique, XLII.); Henri Lévy-Bruhl,

*Qu'est-ce que le Fait Historique?* (ibid.); Otto Hintze, *Troeltsch und die Probleme des Historismus* (Historische Zeitschrift, CXXXV, 2); Isabella C. McLaughlin, *History and Sociology: a Comparison of their Methods* (American Journal of Sociology, November).

#### ANCIENT HISTORY

In the *Antiquaries' Journal* for January M. Salomon Reinach describes and discusses the very important discoveries made since 1924 at Glozel, dép. Allier, casting much new light on neolithic civilization in western Europe, and even including clay tablets with alphabetiform signs.

In Sir Flinders Petrie's *History of Egypt*, the volume on *The History of Egypt under the Ptolemaic Dynasty* was originally written by the late Sir John Mahaffy. So much additional material has come to light since the issue of the second edition of this volume, in 1914, that a new volume under the same title has been written by Sir Edwyn Bevan, telling the story afresh in the light of our latest knowledge on the subject (London, Methuen). Messrs. Methuen also announce an English edition of Dr. A. Erman's volume on *The Literature of the Ancient Egyptians*, containing translations of their extant literary works.

Professor Johannes Pedersen of Copenhagen, six years ago, published in Danish a book of remarkable scholarship and excellence on the history of Israel. This is now brought out in English, with revisions made in the light of the latest archaeological and linguistic researches, *Israel: its Life and Culture* (Copenhagen, Branner; London, Milford), the work covering the entire cultural field of Israel.

Students of the history of science will welcome, in English translation, *The History of the Sciences in Greco-Roman Antiquity* (London, Methuen), by Professor Arnold Reymond of the University of Lausanne.

Three new volumes of the *Cambridge Ancient History* are announced in the spring list of the Cambridge University Press: V., "Athens: the History of Greece from the Persian Wars to the Fall of Athens"; VI., "Macedon: the Fourth Century"; and a volume containing some two hundred plates to illustrate vols. I.-IV. The same press also announces *Democracy in the Ancient World*, by T. R. Glover; *Five Roman Emperors* (Vespasian, Titus, Domitian, Nerva, and Trajan), by Dr. B. W. Henderson of Exeter College, Oxford.

Alfred A. Knopf has included in the *History of Civilization* series a translation of A. F. V. Jardé's work, *The Formation of the Greek People*.

The general reader will find the story of classic times made simple and vivid in Jean Hatzfeld's *Histoire de la Grèce Ancienne* (Paris, Payot, 1926, pp. 422).

Great interest attaches to the announcement that the Italian government intends to resume excavations at Herculaneum on an extensive plan formed by the director of the National Museum at Naples.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Matthias Gelzer, *Altertumswissenschaft und Spätantike* (Historische Zeitschrift, CXXXV. 2); G. Radet, *L'Artémis d'Ephèse* (Journal des Savants, January); L. A. Constans, *Ostie Primitive* (ibid., December); Jean Costa, *Les Fastes Consulaires et Triomphaux* (ibid., August-October); Dimitri Kontchalovsky, *Recherches sur l'Histoire du Mouvement Agraire des Gracques* (Revue Historique, November); A. Blanchet, *Les Armes Romaines* (Journal des Savants, January); Ettore Pais, *Le Provincia dell' Impero Romano* (Nuova Antologia, November 16); Friedrich Hertlein, *Die Entstehung des Dekumatlandes* (Klio, XXI. 1); R. Cagnat, *Les Fouilles Italiennes en Tripolitaine* (Journal des Savants, August-October).

#### MEDIEVAL HISTORY

General review: Matthew Spinka, *Slavonic Studies in Church History* (Slavonic Review, June).

The October number of *Speculum* has an interesting article on Inland Transportation in England during the Fourteenth Century, by Professor J. F. Willard, and a description of Augustine's Journey from Rome to Richborough, by Professor A. S. Cook. The January number has a study of Pre-Gothic Architecture, a Mirror of the Social-Religious Renaissance of the Eleventh Century, by L. C. McKinney. We can not refrain from commenting on the extraordinary excellence of the photographic facsimiles which at times appear in this journal, accompanying palaeographical articles.

The English translation of Professor Maurice de Wulf's *History of Medieval Philosophy* (Longmans) is now complete by the issue of vol. II., extending from Thomas Aquinas to the end of the sixteenth century.

The second volume of Mr. G. G. Coulton's *Five Centuries of Religion*, carrying the work from A. D. 1200 to 1400, and entitled, "The Friars and the Deadweight of Conservatism", is nearly ready for publication by the Cambridge University Press. Very interesting, and the fruit of great learning, is Dr. Coulton's *The Mediaeval Village* (ibid.).

*Rom und Romgedanke im Mittelalter: die Geistigen Grundlagen der Renaissance*, by Fedor Schneider, is a work of much learning and wide documentation, as was to be expected from this author (Munich, Drei-Masken-Verlag, 1926, pp. 309).

An important contribution to the history of medieval thought will be offered in the two volumes of *Duns Scotus* (Oxford University Press), by C. R. Harris.

C. Kenneth Brampton edits for the first time, from the unique manuscript in the King's Library in the British Museum, the *De Imperatorum et Pontificum Potestate* of William of Ockham (Oxford University Press).

*The Black Death: a Chronicle of the Plague compiled from Contemporary Sources*, by Johannes Nohl, has been translated into English and published by Harper.

A few years ago Dr. Paul Hagen of the State Library of Lübeck and Dr. Gustav Roethe discovered in that library an interesting Middle Low German manuscript of the fifteenth century which came originally from a Lübeck house of the Sisters of the Common Life. It appears to be the original from which the author of the *Imitatio Christi* derived, with modifications, the second book of that work and part of the third. Dr. Hagen now publishes it in a small book, *Mahnungen zur Innerlichkeit: eine Urschrift des Buchs von der Nachfolge Christi* (Lübeck, Max Schmidt-Römhild, pp. xiv, 160).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Giannino Ferrari, *Codificazione Giustinianea e Leggi Romane dei Barbari* (Nuova Antologia, November 1); Marc Bloch, *La Société du Haut Moyen Age et ses Origines* (Journal des Savants, August-October); E. K. Rand, *On the History of the De Vita Caesarum of Suetonius in the Early Middle Ages* (Harvard Studies in Classical Philology, XXXVII.); M. Florin, *Innocenz III. als Schriftsteller und als Papst* (Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte, XLV. 3); Gaston Dept, *Les Marchands Flamands et le Roi d'Angleterre, 1154-1216* (Revue du Nord, November); H. T. Cheshire, *The Great Tartar Invasion of Europe* (Slavonic Review, June).

#### MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

A new and revised edition of Professor John A. Hobson's *The Evolution of Modern Capitalism* is published by Scribner in the *Contemporary Science* series.

In addition to other articles, the *Jahrbücher für Kultur und Geschichte der Slaven*, n. f., vol. II., no. 1 (Breslau, Priebatsch, 1926), contains the following useful general reviews: Salomo Birnbaum, "Die Jüdische Literatur Osteuropas"; Richard Salomon, "Aus den Letzten Jahren des Russischen Kaisertums"; Josef Matl, "Neueste Deutsche Literatur zur Geschichte Jugoslawiens"; *id.*, "Zur Neueren Historiographie Bulgariens betreffend"; Erdmann Hanisch, "Zur Bibliographie der vornehmlich in Deutschland erschienenen Werke Slavischer Belletristik und Literaturgeschichte".

Italian historians have contributed little to the mass of Luther literature, a fact which lends interest to Bassano Gabba's *Lutero, Studio Critico-Storico* (Bergamo, Istituto Italiano d'Arti Grafiche, 1926, pp. 325).

Dr. Spenser Wilkinson, formerly Chichele professor of military history in the University of Oxford, brings out through the Oxford University Press a new work showing the relation of French experience and strategy in the War of the Austrian Succession to Napoleonic strategy of the early Italian days, *The Defence of Piedmont, 1742-1748: a Prelude to the Study of Napoleon*.

*Die Polnische Frage als Problem der Europäischen Politik* is studied by W. Recke from the partition to the restoration of Poland (Berlin, Stilke, 1926, pp. xi, 399).

The first part of vol. XII. in E. Cavaignac's *Histoire du Monde* treats of *Le Monde Anglo-Saxon au XIX<sup>e</sup> Siècle*, the author being P. Vaucher, professor in the University of London (Paris, Boccard, 1927, pp. 242).

Donald M. Greer contributes to the *Bibliothèque d'Histoire Moderne* a monograph on *L'Angleterre, la France, et la Révolution de 1848* (Paris, Rieder, 1926, pp. 400).

The Permanent Office of International Juridical Documentation at the Hague has brought out a *Répertoire Général des Traités et autres Actes Diplomatiques conclus depuis 1805 jusqu'en 1920* (the Hague, Nijhoff), comprising a chronological calendar of treaties, indicating subject-matter, place, dates, and references to print, an alphabetical and an analytical table, and a bibliography.

Dr. Arthur Shadwell, formerly editor of *The Democrat*, who in 1925 published an historical book on the *Socialist Movement*, recounts the history of European socialism, as put into operation since the war, in a well-informed volume entitled, *The Breakdown of Socialism* (London, Benn).

Students of the recent situation with respect to international debts will find profit in the use of M. Germain Calmette's small book on *Les Dettes Interalliées* (Paris, Alfred Costes, pp. 254), which is not a treatise or an argument, but, with a minimum of comment, prints, in French original or translation, a great variety of the most important documents upon the subject of debts from 1915 to 1925.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: E. Le Marchand, *L'Ambassade du Marquis d'Osmond à Londres, 1816-1819*, I. (*Revue d'Histoire Diplomatique*, XL. 4); Éd. Driault, *Un Incident Diplomatique Anglo-Hellénique: l'Affaire Pacífico et le Blocus du Pirée, 1847-1850* (*ibid.*); J. Dontenville, *La Chute de la Royauté en 1848*, I., II. (*Nouvelle Revue*, January 15, February 1); Johannes Behrendt, *Die Polnische Frage und das Oesterreichisch-Deutsche Bündnis 1885 bis 1887* (*Archiv für Politik und Geschichte*, IV. 12); W. M. Medlicott, *The Mediterranean Agreements of 1887* (*Slavonic Review*, June); Ange Morre, *La Démocratie Européenne au XX<sup>e</sup> Siècle*, XXVII.-XXXII. (*Nouvelle Revue*, November 1-January 15); Ernst Urbas, *Zur Letzten Phase des Dreibundes* (*Preussische Jahrbücher*, December); Émile Laloy, *La Conférence d'Algésiras, d'après les Documents Allemands* (*Mercure de France*, November 15).

#### THE WORLD WAR

The *Economic and Social History of the World War*, French series, has received these additions: Marcel Peschaud, *Politique et Fonctionnement des Transports par Chemins de Fer pendant la Guerre* (Paris, Presses Universitaires, 1926, pp. xii, 308); Marcel Frois, *La Santé et le Travail des Femmes pendant la Guerre* (*ibid.*, 1926, pp. xii, 308); Henri Sellier, A. Bruggeman, Marcel Poète, *Paris pendant la Guerre* (*ibid.*,



1926, pp. xii, 108); P. Masson, *Marseille pendant la Guerre* (*ibid.*, 1927, pp. xii, 80); C. J. Gignoux, *Bourges pendant la Guerre* (*ibid.*, 1927, pp. xii, 64); Henri Chardon, *L'Organisation de la République pour la Paix* (*ibid.*, 1927, pp. xxviii, 164).

Professor James W. Garner has brought out through Macmillan a volume on *Prize Law during the World War: a Study of the Jurisprudence of the Prize Courts, 1914-1924*.

The General Staff of the Belgian army announces for publication a *Relation Historique Officielle des Campagnes Coloniales Belges, 1914-1918*, in three volumes, of which the first will cover the operations in the Cameroons and in Rhodesia and the defense of the eastern frontier of the Belgian Congo, while the second and third will cover, respectively, the campaigns of 1916 and 1917 against German East Africa.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: A. Mendelssohn Bartholdy, *Der Krieg: Ursachen und Anlässe, Ziele und Folgen*, IV. *Der Weltkrieg* (Europäische Gespräche, January); M. Edith Durham, *The Sarajevo Murder Plot* (Current History, February); Baron Carl Collas, *Auf den Bosnischen Wegspuren der Kriegsschuldigen* (Die Kriegsschuldfrage, January); J. W. Headlam-Morley, *The Origins of the War* (Quarterly Review, January); Bernadotte E. Schmitt, *British Revelations on the Outbreak of the War* (Current History, March); Graf M. Montgelas, *Die Englischen Dokumente zum Kriegausbruch* (Die Kriegsschuldfrage, February); Gunther Frantz, *Did Russian Mobilization Force War in 1914?* (Current History, March); Norbert von Baumbach, *Die Deutsche und die Britische Flotte bei Kriegausbruch* (Die Kriegsschuldfrage, January); Konrad Lehmann, *Conrad v. Hötzendorf und die Deutsche Oberste Heeresleitung im Ersten Kriegshalbjahr* (Archiv für Politik und Geschichte, IV. 10-11); Paul Graf Wolff Metternich, *Eine Kriegskabinetts-Sitzung, October, 1918* (Europäische Gespräche, January).

#### GREAT BRITAIN

General review: F. Cabrol, *Courrier Anglais: Angleterre et Amérique* (Revue des Questions Historiques, January).

Peter H. Ditchfield, author of *The Story of the Inns of Court*, now brings out *The Story of the City Companies*, being a history of the London guilds (Houghton Mifflin).

The National Library of Wales has printed in a handsome volume a *Calendar of Wynn (of Gwydir) Papers, 1515-1690* (Aberystwyth, the Library; London, Humphrey Milford, 1926, pp. xx, 511), describing nearly three thousand documents, mostly in the possession of the library, pertaining to the most influential of North Welsh families, and especially to the eminent Sir John Wynn of 1553-1627, the first baronet of the line. The book, composed with great care and very fully indexed, illustrates with a wealth of detail the political, military, economic, and social life of

North Wales, and to a less degree that of England, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

The Johns Hopkins Press announces the first of two volumes by Professor E. R. Turner on the *Privy Council of England in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*.

Sir Frederick Pollock is editing for the Selden Society an unpublished manuscript of Selden's *Table Talk* belonging to the Society of Lincoln's Inn, unknown to the editors of former versions and superior to the latter.

*English Men and Manners in the Eighteenth Century*, by A. S. Turberville, is published by the Oxford University Press.

Professor Edward E. Curtis of Wellesley College has brought out through the Yale University Press *The Organization of the British Army in the American Revolution*.

Mr. J. M. Holzman's *The Nabobs in England* (New York, the author) is a study of the returned Anglo-Indians of the period from 1760 to 1785, with examination of the legends respecting their wealth and influence.

Monsignor Arthur S. Barnes, Catholic chaplain at the University of Oxford, supplies a chapter in the history of English education not easily available otherwise, in an historical volume on *The Catholic Schools of England*, especially those of the period since the French Revolution.

Philip Guedalla's latest volume, a life of Lord Palmerston, bears the simple title *Palmerston, 1784-1865* (Putnam).

*The Histoire du Peuple Anglais au XIX<sup>e</sup> Siècle* of M. Élie Halévy already comprises three volumes. To these he will add an *Épilogue* covering the period from 1895 to 1914, of which the first part, *Les Impérialistes au Pouvoir, 1895-1905*, has now appeared (Paris, Hachette, 1926).

Vol. II. of *Some Annals of the Borough of Devizes* (Devizes, George Simpson), published by permission of the town council, presents a series of extracts from the archives of the corporation, from 1791, where the first volume (1555-1791) ended, to 1835, the year of the passing of the Municipal Reform Act.

In the *Scottish Historical Review* for January there is an important article on Scottish Local Records, by Dr. David Murray of Glasgow, surveying the report of a departmental committee on that subject appointed in 1925 by the Secretary for Scotland, and conveying a great amount of detailed information respecting especially the records of sheriff courts.

Mr. Alan O. Anderson, whose *Scottish Annals from English Chroniclers* was published in 1908 (see this journal, XXIX. 120), now follows that work by two volumes of the *Early Sources of Scottish History, A. D. 500 to 1286* (Edinburgh, Oliver and Boyd, pp. clxviii, 1140), forming a similar collection from chroniclers of other nationalities than the English, the materials being presented in English translation.

Mrs. Theodora Pagan, formerly known to students of Scottish history under the name of Miss Theodora Keith, publishes through the Glasgow University Press an important contribution to Scottish constitutional history, *The Convention of the Royal Burghs of Scotland*.

British government publications: *Calendar of the Fine Rolls*, IX., Richard II., 1377-1383; *Calendar of State Papers, Rome*, ed. J. M. Rigg, vol. II., 1572-1578.

Other documentary volumes: *Minutes and Accounts of the Corporation of Stratford-upon-Avon and Other Records*, ed. E. I. Fripp, vol. III., 1577-1586 (Dugdale Society).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: H. J. Randall, *The Antiquity of the English Village* (Edinburgh Review, January); A. H. Sweet, *The Control of English Episcopal Elections in the Thirteenth Century* (Catholic Historical Review, January); J. F. Willard, *The Crown and its Creditors, 1327-1333* (English Historical Review, January); B. Wiesman, *Father Robert Parsons, S.J.* (Catholic Historical Review, January); E. R. Turner, *The Excise Scheme of 1733* (English Historical Review, January); R. A. Roberts, *The Genesis of the Public Record Office* (Edinburgh Review, January); Erich Brandenburg, *Zur Englischen Politik während der Marokko-Krise von 1905* (Europäische Gespräche, January); Hans Rothfels, *Zur Beurteilung der Englischen Vorkriegspolitik* (Archiv für Politik und Geschichte, IV. 12).

#### IRELAND AND THE DOMINIONS

(For Canada, see p. 714; for India, see p. 700.)

Miss Eleanor Hull, secretary of the Irish Texts Society, brings out a volume intended to exhibit faithfully the medieval history of Ireland, *A History of Ireland and her People to the Close of the Tudor Period* (London, G. G. Harrap, pp. 512, illustrations).

The first volume of the *Cambridge History of the British Empire* (Macmillan) may be expected to appear during the present year. Its theme is the Old Empire, from its beginning until 1783. The chapters, as in the other Cambridge histories, have been prepared by various authoritative hands.

Dr. Alfred Zimmern's *The Third British Empire* (Oxford University Press, pp. 148) is a course of lectures delivered at Columbia University, in which the recent development and present status of the British Commonwealth of Nations are expounded with extraordinary clarity, fullness of information, and reasonableness.

The Oxford University Press has published a volume by E. O. G. Shann, entitled *Cattle Chosen: the Story of the first Group Settlement in Western Australia, 1829 to 1841*.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Father Gregory Cleary, *St. Francis and Ireland* (Studies, December); W. F. Butler, *Plot and Counterplot in*

*Elizabethan Ireland* (*ibid.*); R. L. Schuyler, *Ireland and the English Parliament: an Imperial Phase of the Puritan Revolution* (*Political Science Quarterly*, December).

#### FRANCE

On January 25 a chair of American history and institutions, founded by the late Lee Kohns, of New York, was formally inaugurated at the Sorbonne, the first professor being M. Charles Cestre.

The first Congrès Français des Sciences Historiques, organized by the newly established French Committee of the Historical Sciences, will take place at the Sorbonne April 21-24, 1927. A congress of the history of law will occur in Paris on Whitsunday, June 5.

It is announced that the archive commission of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs has extended from 1848 to 1852 the date up to which papers in the archives of the ministry can be consulted by historical scholars.

To the *Histoire de la Nation Française* published under the direction of Gabriel Hanotaux has been added a second volume of the portion devoted to *La Géographie Humaine de la France*, dealing in this case with *Géographie Politique; Géographie du Travail*. The present volume is by Jean Brunhes and Pierre Defontaine (Paris, Plon, 1926, pp. viii, 656).

With vol. VIII., part II., *Les Empereurs de Trèves; la Terre et les Hommes*, the great work of Camille Jullian, *Histoire de la Gaule*, is now complete (Paris, Hachette, 1926).

Of undoubted importance in its field is vol. III. of *La Vie en France au Moyen Age du XII<sup>e</sup> au Milieu du XIV<sup>e</sup> Siècle*, by Ch. V. Langlois, who is here concerned with *La Connaissance de la Nature et du Monde, d'après des Écrits en Français à l'Usage des Laïcs* (Paris, Hachette, 1927, pp. xxxii, 400).

Medievalists and philologists will find much of interest in *Les Plus Anciennes Chartes en Langue Provençale*, a collection of documents prior to the thirteenth century, published together with a morphological study by Professor Clovis Brunel of the École des Chartes (Paris, Picard, 1926, pp. lxiii, 497).

More than a thousand unpublished pieces from the Angevin registers of Naples are printed in *Actes et Lettres de Charles I<sup>er</sup>, Roi de Sicile, concernant la France, 1257-1284*, by Professor A. de Bouard of the École des Chartes, under the auspices of the École Française de Rome (Paris, Boccard, 1927, pp. viii, 416).

The house of Van Oest, of Paris and Brussels, has published in its series of handsomely illustrated books on the history of painting an *Histoire de la Peinture de Portrait en France au XVI<sup>e</sup> Siècle*, by M. Louis Dimier, in three volumes, which present, besides historical and biographical narratives, a detailed catalogue of 3000 portraits of that century, the whole amounting to 1070 pages of text, with 56 heliotype

plates, reproducing 135 of the most important portraits. They have also completed, by the issue of volume III. (out of five), MM. Dimier and Réau's *Histoire de la Peinture Française*—five or six hundred quarto pages of text, with 320 plates. Another of their recent publications, important for both artistic and social history, is *Le Louvre et les Tuileries de Louis XIV.*, illustrated, by Professor Louis Hauteœur of the École des Beaux-Arts. Another, with introduction by the same editor, is a reproduction of that rare architectural classic, Jean Mariette's *L'Architecture Française, ou Recueil des Plans, etc., des Églises, Palais, Hôtels, et Maisons Particulières de Paris* (1727), in three volumes folio, with several facsimile plates.

Material for history will be found in the publication by Camille Monnet of *Bayard et la Maison de Savoie; Recueil de Notes et de Documents Inédits pour servir à l'Histoire du Bon Chevalier* (Paris, Bossard, 1926, pp. 150).

Fascicle 35 of the *Publications de la Faculté des Lettres de Strasbourg* is *La Réunion de Metz à la France, 1552-1648*, part I., *L'Occupation*, by Gaston Zeller (Paris, Belles Lettres, 1926).

Vol. VII. of the *Mémoires du Cardinal de Richelieu*, edited by Robert Lavollée, has been published by the Société de l'Histoire de France (Paris, Champion, 1927, pp. 310).

The unpublished memoirs of the Baron de Montbas, an officer in the army of Louis XIV., are printed with introduction and notes by the Viscomte de Montbas (Paris, Calmann-Lévy, 1927, pp. 348).

A fresh monograph by Fr. Funck-Brentano on the Old Régime is never lacking in interest; he contributes to the *Bibliothèque d'Histoire* a study of *Les Lettres de Cachet* (Paris, Hachette, 1927).

One of the regional studies to which the future historian of the period must turn for material is G. Charrier's *Histoire Religieuse du Département de la Nièvre pendant la Révolution* (Paris, Guitard, 1926, 2 vols., pp. 380, 420).

Boni and Liveright are publishing in English translation Emil Ludwig's *Napoleon: the Man of Destiny*.

To his many noteworthy publications in the Napoleonic period, Édouard Driault has added *La Chute de l'Empire; la Légende Napoléon, 1812-1815* (Paris, Alcan, 1927, pp. 484), as the fifth volume of his work, *Napoléon et l'Europe*.

The Restoration seems a period especially suited to the pen of Pierre de La Gorce. He has prepared a life of *Louis XVIII.* (Paris, Plon, 1926, pp. iii, 329) and is now at work on that of Charles X.

*La Restauration et la Monarchie de Juillet* by J. Lucas-Dubreton is the most recent enrichment of Fr. Funck-Brentano's series on the *Histoire de France racontée à Tous* (Paris, Hachette, 1926).

The tale of *L'Armistice de 1871* is retold for *Récits d'Autrefois* by Lt.-Col. Rousset (Paris, Hachette, 1927).

Presented as a thesis at the École des Chartes in 1899, crowned in manuscript form by the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres in 1923, the exhaustive *Essai sur les États de Vivarais depuis leurs Origines* by Auguste Le Sourd is the fruit of more than a quarter of a century of patient research (Paris, Société Générale d'Imprimerie, 1926, pp. xxii, 691).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: W. J. P. Wright, *Women and the Counter-Reformation in France* (Church Quarterly Review, October); J. Lebon, *Les Congrégations des Affaires de France sous Innocent XI*, II. (Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique, January); Lucien Febvre, *Langue et Nationalité en France au XVIII<sup>e</sup> Siècle* (Revue de Synthèse Historique, XLII.); Yvonne Bésard, *Lettres de Guerre sous Louis XV*. (Revue des Questions Historiques, January); Raymond Lenoir, *Vie Spirituelle et Politique sous Louis XVI*. (Revue de Synthèse Historique, XLII.); L. Guénau, *Le Rôle de Paris dans les Industries et le Commerce de la Soie et des Soieries à la Fin de l'Ancien Régime*, II. (Revue d'Histoire Moderne, December); G. Lacour-Gayet, *Talleyrand à Saint-Sulpice et à la Sorbonne* (Revue de Paris, January 1); Albert Mathiez, *Études sur la Terreur; la Réorganisation du Gouvernement Révolutionnaire, Germinal-Floréal An II*. (Annales Historiques de la Révolution Française, January); Paul Marmottan, *La Grande Duchesse Elisa et Fouché; Correspondance Inédite* (Revue d'Histoire Diplomatique, XL. 4); *Mémoires de la Reine Hortense*, IX.-XI. (Revue des Deux Mondes, December 1, January 1, February 1); C. H. Pouthas, *Les Projets de Réforme Administrative sous la Restauration* (Revue d'Histoire Moderne, October); A. L. Dunham, *The Influence of the Anglo-French Treaty of Commerce of 1860 on the Development of the Iron Industry in France* (Quarterly Journal of Economics, February); L. H. Labande, *La Commune de Marseille, ses Origines, son Développement jusqu'à l'Acquisition de la Seigneurie des Vicomtes*, I., II. (Journal des Savants, December, January).

#### ITALY, SPAIN, AND PORTUGAL

General review: Luis Araujo-Costa, *Courrier Espagnol* (Revue des Questions Historiques, January).

Under the title *Rom: eine Münchner Pilgerfahrt im Jubeljahre 1575*, Karl Schottenloher presents the journal of Dr. Jacob Rabus, court-preacher in Munich, who describes the Eternal City as he saw it in the days of the Counter-Reformation (Munich, Verlag der Münchner Drucke, 1926, pp. 230).

Mention, though tardy, should be made of *Le Origini del Risorgimento Politico dell' Italia Meridionale* by Attilio Simone, being vol. I. of the *Biblioteca Storica Principato* under the direction of Pietro Egidi (Messina, Principato, 1925, pp. vii, 535) and also of the two volumes by the



distinguished Alessandro Luzio on *La Massoneria e il Risorgimento Italiano* (Bologna, Zanichelli, 1925, pp. xii, 358, 300).

Count Aldobrandini Malvezzi has published the *Diario Politico, 1852-1856*, of the Countess Provagna di Collegno, which is in substance the memoirs of her husband, Count Giacinto Collegno, minister of Sardinia to France and member of the Piedmontese senate. They contain documents and correspondence of importance relative to the Congress of Paris and other matters (Milan, Hoepli, 1926, pp. xxxviii, 514).

Vol. III. of Paul Matter's able book, *Cavour et l'Unité Italienne*, is dedicated to the period between 1856 and 1861 (Paris, Alcan, 1927, pp. 497).

The *Miscellanea Storica*, which forms vol. LIII. of the *Atti della Società Ligure di Storia Patria*, contains, of marked interest to our readers, a valuable paper by Signorina Maria G. Marengo on a free bank of discount at Genoa in the eighteenth century; a treatise of some 200 pages on the postal system of the Republic, by Onorato Pàstine; and a survey, by Giuseppe Pessagno, of all the outstanding questions respecting Columbus, in the light not only of all that is in the *Raccolta* but also of the notarial document discovered by Gen. Ugo Assereto and of M. de la Roncière's map.

In the *Revue de l'Histoire des Colonies Françaises*, XIV. 4, M. Henri Sée has a valuable article, with a mass of supporting documents from the archives of the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs, on the commerce of Cadiz, 1691-1752.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Alfredo Galletti, *Nel VII. Centenario Francese*; *Il Canto del Sole* (Nuova Antologia, November 1); Gioacchino Volpe, *Italia Trecentesca: I Quadri Politici* (*ibid.*, January 1); G. Paladino, *Studi Masanielliani* (Rivista Storica Italiana, September); Marcus De Rubris, *Genesi e Vicende del Primo Scritto Politico di Massimo D'Azeglio* (Nuova Antologia, January 16); Louis Bertrand, *Sainte Thérèse*, I.-V. (*Revue des Deux Mondes*, December 1-February 1).

#### GERMANY, AUSTRIA, AND SWITZERLAND

General review: Paul E. Martin, *Histoire de Suisse; Publications des Années 1924 et 1925* (*Revue Historique*, November).

A new and comprehensive *Kulturgeschichte* in more than seven hundred pages has been published under the title *Germanische Wiedererstehung; ein Werk über die Germanischen Grundlagen unserer Gesittung* (Heidelberg, Winter, 1926) by Hermann Nollau in co-operation with C. Bojunga, A. Haupt, K. Helm, A. Heusler, O. Lauffer, F. von der Leyen, J. M. Müller-Blattau, and Claudius Freiherr von Schwerin.

A volume has been published by Konrad Beyerle, aided by thirty scholars, on *Die Kultur der Abtei Reichenau* in commemoration of the twelve-hundredth anniversary of the famous island monastery (Munich, Verlag der Münchner Drucke, 1926, 2 vols., pp. 1300).

The *Thesaurus Philopoliticus*, a rare collection of 830 engravings of cities and castles begun by Daniel Meissner in the seventeenth century and of which a complete copy is to be found in but one German library, is offered in two volumes by Fritz Herrman and Leonhard Kraft of Darmstadt (Heidelberg, Winter, 1926).

Beiheft 8 of the *Historische Zeitschrift* is a sketch by Otto Graf zu Stolberg-Wernigerode of *Anton Graf zu Stolberg-Wernigerode, ein Freund und Ratgeber König Friedrich Wilhelms IV.* (Munich, Oldenbourg, 1926, pp. 144).

The late Miss Agnes B. Ferguson of Morningside College collected material for a biography of Gottfried Kinkel, on the basis of which Dr. Alfred R. de Jonge has prepared a small book on *Gottfried Kinkel as Political and Social Thinker* (pp. 156), which has been published by Columbia University for its Germanic department.

*Drei Gestalten aus dem Modernen Katholizismus*—Möhler, Diepenbrock, Döllinger, by Fritz Vigener, forms the subject-matter of Beiheft 7 of the *Historische Zeitschrift* (Munich, Oldenbourg, 1926, pp. 192).

The latest interpretation of the great German chancellor bears the title *Bismarck, Geschichte eines Kämpfers*, and is the work of Emil Ludwig (Berlin, Rowohlt, 1926, pp. 700). It has been widely reviewed.

Helmuth Wolff, in *Geschichtsauffassung und Politik in Bismarcks Bewusstsein* (Munich, Oldenbourg, 1926, pp. 218), discusses Bismarck's views respecting history, freewill and necessity, etc., and the influence of historical reading and thought on his statesmanship.

The committee and subcommittees chosen to carry on the investigation directed by the Weimar Assembly into the causes of the German collapse in 1918 have been pursuing their labors for more than six years. As vol. VIII. of the fourth series in this study there is now offered *Der Deutsche Reichstag im Weltkrieg*, by Professor Brecht with the aid of Eugen Fischer and Walther Bloch (Berlin, Deutsche Verlagsgesellschaft für Politik und Geschichte, 1926).

The second chief of staff of the German army during the late war was luckless and unpopular; an effort to study his military record from a somewhat more sympathetic standpoint has been made by General H. von Zwehl in *Erich von Falkenhayn, eine Biographische Studie* (Berlin, Mittler, 1926, pp. xii, 341).

Professor Kuno Francke of Harvard University (one of the founding members of the American Historical Association in 1884) brings together in a small volume, *German After-War Problems* (Harvard University Press, pp. 135), three thoughtful and well-informed articles from the *Atlantic Monthly*, on intellectual currents in contemporary Germany, on Count Hermann Keyserling, and on German character, and has added to these a new chapter, on German after-war imagination.

The second volume of Dr. Ernst Baasch's *Geschichte Hamburgs* (Stuttgart, Perthes) tells the story from 1867 to 1918, from the days of an aristocratic senate of merchants to those of a workmen's and soldiers' council.

*German Colonization Past and Future: the Truth about the German Colonies*, by Dr. Heinrich Schnee, late governor of German East Africa, is an argument in behalf of the return to Germany of her former colonies. There is an introduction by William H. Dawson (New York, Knopf).

The Haus-, Hof-, und Staatsarchiv of Vienna announces the preparation, by one of its staff, Dr. Paul Kletler, of *Die Kunst im Oesterreichischen Siegel*, a book of 80 quarto pages of text and 40 photographic plates, based on the rich material in the archives.

In *Die Anfänge des Stehenden Heeres in Oesterreich* (Vienna, Oesterreichischer Bundesverlag), Dr. Eugen Heischmann studies the development of the Austrian military system from the time of the battle of Mohács, with the conclusion that, next after the Turks, the Austrian state was the first to maintain, summer and winter and from one campaign to another, from 1592 on, a standing military force.

The *Letters of Franz Joseph I.*, selected from the imperial portion of the Staatsarchiv at Vienna, and edited by Dr. Otto Ernst, are published by Messrs. Methuen of London in an English translation this spring.

Macmillan has brought out *The Social Revolution in Austria*, by C. A. Macartney.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Karl Helleiner, *Ein Deperditum von Heinrich IV.* (Mitteilungen des Oesterreichischen Instituts für Geschichtsforschung, XLI. 4); Otto Brandt, *Zur Vorgeschichte der Schleswig-Holsteinischen Erhebung* (Archiv für Politik und Geschichte, IV. 10-11); Herbert Sultan, *Rodbertus und der Agrarische Sozialkonservatismus* (Zeitschrift für die Gesamte Staatswissenschaft, LXXXII. 1); Hans Rothfels, *Zur Geschichte der Bismarckschen Innenpolitik* (Archiv für Politik und Geschichte, IV. 9); Eduard Heller, *Bismarcks Stellung zur Führung des Zweifronten-Krieges* (ibid., IV. 12); Friedrich Hertneck, *Die Deutsche Sozialdemokratie und die Orientalische Frage im Zeitalter Bismarcks* (ibid.); Karl Klingenfuss, *Beust und Andrassy und die Kriegsgefahr von 1875* (ibid.); Rudolf Kiszling, *Die Militärischen Beziehungen und Bindungen zwischen Oesterreich-Ungarn und dem Deutschen Reiche vor dem Weltkriege* (Die Kriegsschuldfrage, November); Victor Bredt, *Reichskanzler Michaelis und die Päpstliche Friedensaktion* (Preussische Jahrbücher, November); id., *Michaelis und Kühlmann* (ibid., January).

#### NETHERLANDS AND BELGIUM

Three small books on the early history of the Spanish and Portuguese Jews in the Netherlands are published by Menno Hertzberger of Amster-

dam: Izak Prins, *De Vestiging der Marranen in Noord-Nederland in de Zestiende Eeuw*, based on fresh study of original documents; J. S. da Silvo Rosa, *De Geschiedenis der Portugeesche Joden te Amsterdam, 1593-1925*; and S. Seeligmann, *Bibliographie en Historie: Bijdrage tot de Geschiedenis der eerste Sephardim te Amsterdam*, which presents a complete bibliography of all Spanish and Portuguese writings printed in the northern Netherlands before 1627.

Paul Verhaeren continues his massive study of *La Belgique sous la Domination Française* in a third volume dealing with *La Guerre des Paysans, 1798-1799* (Paris, Plon, 1927, pp. 725).

The Solvay Institute of Brussels presents, as a sociological study of facts, prepared in a scientific spirit, not to uphold any thesis, a volume entitled *La Belgique Restaurée* (pp. xi, 678), edited by E. Mahaim, and composed of ten chapters treating of the processes and results of reconstruction in respect to population, agriculture, industry, commerce, labor, finance, etc.

Mr. Malcolm Letts in *Bruges and Its Past* (London, Berry) provides many excellent chapters, based on original sources, relative to the history, archaeology, law, culture, and life of Bruges, with many of the features of a guide.

#### NORTHERN AND EASTERN EUROPE

The third Congress of Scandinavian Historians took place at Gothenburg in 1923. The fourth was held on June 29-July 4 last, partly at Copenhagen, but more largely at Sorø. It was attended by historical scholars from Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Finland, and Iceland. A full report of the proceedings, which were of much interest, is given by Dr. Axel Linvald in the *Historisk Tidsskrift*, ninth ser., V. In view of the International Historical Congress to take place at Oslo in August, 1928, which will bring together many Scandinavian historians, it was agreed that the fifth "Nordiske Historikermøde" should take place in 1931, at Helsingfors, in Finland.

To the *Bibliothèque Historique* is added an anonymous volume entitled *Constantin Pobiedonostsev: Correspondance et Documents Inédits relatifs à l'Histoire du Règne de l'Empereur Alexandre III. de Russie, 1881-1894* (Paris, Payot, 1927).

For thirty-three years, General Eugene Vassilievitch Bogdanovitch and his wife Alexandra Victorovna maintained one of the great political salons of St. Petersburg. During this time (1879-1912) the general's wife kept a diary, which is now published as the *Journal de la Générale Bogdanovich*, translated by M. Lefebvre (Paris, Payot, 1926, pp. 320).

The Columbia University Press has published a volume by Elaine Elnett entitled *Historic Origin and Social Development of the Family in Russia*. Professor Franklin H. Giddings furnishes a preface.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Wilhelm Ohnesseit, *Die Deutschen Bauernkolonien in Südrussland von ihrer Gründung bis zur Gegenwart* (Preussische Jahrbücher, November); Gunther Frantz, *Die Meerengengfrage in der Vorkriegspolitik Russlands* (Deutsche Rundschau, February).

#### SOUTHEASTERN EUROPE

General reviews: Louis Bréhier, *Histoire Byzantine*; *Publications des Années 1922-1926* (Revue Historique, November); Josef Matl, *Neueste Deutsche Literatur zur Geschichte Jugoslaviens*, and *Zur Neueren Historiographie Bulgariens betreffend* (Jahrbücher für Kultur und Geschichte der Slaven, n. F., II. 1).

The Rumanian School at Rome, conducted by Professor Vasile Pârvan, will hereafter issue its publications in two series, both in Italian: the annual *Ephemeris Dacoromana*, devoted in the main to studies in archaeology and the history of art, and a new series, *Diplomatarium Italicum*, containing historical documents respecting Rumania and its region, discovered in Italy by members of the school. The third volume of the *Ephemeris* (1925, pp. vi, 406) presents a monograph on Aricia, by Gr. Florescu; one on the spread of Italic civilization toward the lower Danube in the first iron age, by Ecaterina Dunăreanu-Vulpe; and one on the Illyrians in the Roman Empire, by Radu Vulpe. The first volume of the *Diplomatarium* (1925, pp. viii, 505) contains, first, from the archives of the Propaganda, a series of 68 letters of Catholic missionaries in Moldavia, 1639-1763, with a learned introduction of 90 pages on these missions, missionaries, and missionary activities; secondly, from the Orsini correspondence in the communal archives of Rome, letters respecting Rumanian affairs addressed to Cardinal Virginio Orsini by King John Casimir of Poland and others; and from the Vatican Archives a long series of reports of Bishop Claudio Rangoni, nuncio in Poland 1599-1605, and 94 letters of the last half of 1595 written by Sigismund III. of Poland, Sigismund Báthory, Michael the Brave, the nuncio Malaspina, and others. Altogether the volume offers a great enrichment of Rumanian history. Both books are handsome in form.

The Stanford University Press has brought out as a volume Miss Edith P. Stickney's essay on *Southern Albania in European Affairs, 1912-1923*, to which in December, 1925, the George Louis Beer prize was awarded by the American Historical Association.

A. F. Frangulis, former minister of state, has finished vol. II. of *La Grèce et la Crise Mondiale* (Paris, Alcan, 1927, pp. 592) for the *Bibliothèque d'Histoire Contemporaine*.

Dr. William Miller's *Trebizond, the Last Greek Empire* (London, S.P.C.K.), covers in a moderate compass, but with much competence, the history of the last offshoot of the Eastern Empire.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: D. de Szent Ivanyi, *L'Occupation Turque en Hongrie et ses Conséquences sur l'Évolution Ulérieure du*

*Pays et sur celle de l'Europe Orientale* (Revue des Sciences Politiques, October-December); Jakob Bleyer, *Von der Erforschung des Deutschen Kultureinflusses im Südöstlichen Europa* (Deutsche Rundschau, November).

#### ASIA, MEDIEVAL AND MODERN

Dr. A. A. Macdonnell, late professor of Sanskrit in the University of Oxford, publishes a book entitled *India's Past* (Oxford University Press), tracing the intellectual and artistic history of the Aryan race in India till the arrival of the Europeans at the end of the fifteenth century.

*Farmers of Forty Centuries: or Permanent Agriculture in China, Korea, and Japan*, by F. H. King, edited by J. P. Bruce, originally privately printed, is now published by Harcourt.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Commandant Haillot, *Les Origines du Califat* (Revue des Questions Historiques, January); Adm. G. A. Ballard, *The First and Second Anglo-French Conflicts in the Indian Ocean* (Mariner's Mirror, January); Vicomte Motono, *Quelques Considérations Historiques sur la Politique Extérieure du Japon* (Revue d'Histoire Diplomatique, XL. 4).

#### AFRICA, MEDIEVAL AND MODERN

Justifying the inclusion of an *Histoire d'Algérie* in a series on the old provinces of France, attention is directed by the publishers to the fact that Algeria has been under the French flag for nearly a century. The authors are Professors S. Gsell of the Collège de France, G. Marçais and G. Yver of the University of Algiers (Paris, Boivin, 1927, pp. vi, 328).

Commandant Gillier, of the French colonial infantry, in a substantial and well-informed book with the title *La Pénétration en Mauritanie* (Paris, Paul Geuthner, pp. 359) develops the whole history, from 1817 to 1925, of the gradual French occupation of the region of West Africa north of the Senegal River and south of Rio de Oro.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: J. Ladreit de Lacharrière, *La Tache de Taza et l'Action Militaire de la France au Maroc*, II. (Revue des Sciences Politiques, October-December).

#### AMERICA

##### GENERAL ITEMS

The Carnegie Institution of Washington has published for the Department of Historical Research the second volume (pp. xv, 564) of *Proceedings and Debates of British Parliaments respecting North America*, edited by Dr. L. F. Stock. It contains all recoverable proceedings and debates of the Parliaments of England, Scotland, and Ireland through the reigns of William and Mary and William III.—1689-1702. Mr. Leland expects, before returning to America in July, to have finished the first



volume (Libraries) of his *Guide to the Materials for American History in the Archives and Libraries of Paris*. Mr. David W. Parker is in Paris assisting him in the work. At the first French Congress of the Historical Sciences, April 21-23, Mr. Leland reads a paper on the sources of American history in France.

Among recent accessions of the Division of Manuscripts in the Library of Congress are the voluminous correspondence of George W. Julian, 1849-1899; the journal of Past Midshipman J. G. Sproston kept during the Perry expedition to Japan in 1854; the diary of Gideon Welles, Jan. 7-Mar. 4, 1856; the letters of Theodore Roosevelt and William H. Taft to Senator J. B. Foraker; the correspondence of Col. John R. Procter, member of the Civil Service Commission during its formative period; additions to the Lincoln papers; and photostats of the Franklin Pierce letters in the possession of the New Hampshire Historical Society, 1833-1852 (1716 sheets).

In the *Proceedings* of the American Antiquarian Society for April, 1926, the leading paper, and an interesting one, with useful illustrations, is one on Some Imaginary California Geography, by Henry R. Wagner. There is also a full account of the Military Record of Brig.-Gen. John Nixon of Massachusetts, by John M. Merriam. Mr. Waldo Lincoln adds a list of the society's newspapers of the West Indies and Bermuda.

Professor John H. Latané's *History of American Foreign Policy* has come from the press (Doubleday).

*The State as a Party Litigant*, by Robert D. Watkins, appears among the Johns Hopkins University *Studies in Historical and Political Science*.

Ole Rynning's *Sandfaerdig Beretning om Amerika* (Christiania, 1838) is now an exceedingly rare little book, of which only two copies appear to be known; it was, however, in its day exceedingly influential in Norway among people who considered migration to America, the author having been a man of superior education, whose descriptions were careful, intelligent, and hopeful. The Norwegian-American Historical Association inaugurates a "travel and description series" by printing, in a pamphlet of 100 pages, *Ole Rynning's True Account of America*, the Norwegian text of the book with an English translation and an historical introduction by Professor Theodore C. Blegen.

Under the general title *Indian Tribes and Missions* the Church Missions Publishing Company of Hartford has brought out a handbook of the history of North American Indians, together with an account of the early missionary efforts and missions of the Episcopal Church.

Professor Francis H. Herrick furnishes a useful compilation of first-rate observations of life on the outskirts of civilization in the United States a hundred years ago, by drawing off from Audubon's *Ornithological Biography*, in a volume published by G. A. Baker and Company, that gifted observer's *Delineations of American Scenery and Character*.

Willard G. Bleyer, professor of journalism in the University of Wisconsin, has brought out through the Houghton Mifflin Company a volume entitled *Main Currents in the History of American Journalism*.

The Vanguard Press has included in the series of *Current Social Science Studies* a small volume by C. H. Hamlin, entitled *The War Myth in United States History*, for which Rev. Charles F. Dole writes an introduction.

#### ITEMS ARRANGED IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER

Mr. Howard M. Chapin, librarian of the Rhode Island Historical Society, proposes to publish in a limited edition a careful history of American privateering in the period from 1625 to 1725, *Privateer Ships and Sailors: the First Century of American Colonial Privateering* (pp. 256).

*Hawkers and Walkers in Early America*, by Richardson L. Wright, is an account of strolling pedlars, preachers, lawyers, doctors, and players (Lippincott).

In the *Essex Institute Historical Collections*, January number, Mr. Francis B. C. Bradlee has a paper on Colonial Trade and Commerce, 1733-1774.

The Society of Colonial Wars in the State of New York has published in a small volume *The Journals and Papers of Seth Pomeroy*, officer in the colonial forces of Massachusetts from 1743 to his death in 1777, and major-general in the Revolutionary army.

William J. Lauck is the author of a volume entitled *Political and Industrial Democracy, 1776-1926*, which Funk and Wagnall have published.

Mr. Charles F. Jenkins has brought out through Doubleday, Page, and Company, *Button Gwinnett: Signer of the Declaration of Independence*.

Professor Frank A. Golder, with the aid of a group of letters of Paul Jones to Prince Potemkin which he found in Russian archives, and other materials, has composed a narrative of *John Paul Jones in Russia*, which Doubleday, Page, and Company, have just published.

Mr. Mantle Fielding, of 521 Walnut Street, Philadelphia, has ready for delivery to subscribers his *Gilbert Stuart and his Portraits of George Washington*, with some forty reproductions made from the original paintings. The edition is limited.

Under a concurrent resolution of the two houses of Congress, adopted last May, ten thousand copies have been printed of a handsome volume of quarto size, *Documents Illustrative of the Formation of the Union of the American States* (Government Printing Office, 1927, pp. x, 1115), selected, arranged, and indexed by Dr. Charles C. Tansill, and containing, besides the Declaration of Independence, the Articles of Confederation, the Constitution, and a score of other pertinent documents, the whole text of Madison's notes of debates in the Convention of 1787, those made by Pierce, King, Paterson, Hamilton, and McHenry, and all the variant texts

of all four of the plans laid before that body. Copies can be obtained by application to members of the Sixty-ninth Congress.

Dr. V. Reginald Hughes, O.P., in a volume based on careful research, *The Right Rev. Richard Luke Concanen, O.P., First Bishop of New York, 1747-1810* (Freiburg, Switzerland, *Studia Friburgensia*, 1926, pp. xii, 232), treats of the history of an eminent Dominican who, after having been for some time the leading English-speaking agent in Rome of Catholic prelates, was nominated by the Holy See in 1808 as the first bishop of New York, but was never able to reach his diocese.

Professor Louis M. Sears has brought out through the Duke University Press a study of *Jefferson and the Embargo*.

One of the Johns Hopkins Romance studies is *Louis Hue Girardin and Nicholas Gouin Dufief*, by Miss Edith Philips of Goucher College, treating of two refugees from the French Revolution. Correspondence of Girardin with Jefferson is printed, concerning chiefly the former's *History of Virginia* (vol. IV., continuing Burk). Both were teachers, Girardin in Virginia and Baltimore, Dufief in Philadelphia, where he developed a "natural method" of teaching French.

*William Henry Harrison: a Political Biography*, by Mrs. Dorothy B. Goebel, is vol. XIV. of the *Indiana Historical Collections*.

The French general Régis de Trobriand, U. S. A., commanded in 1867-1869 the military district of the Upper Missouri. His journal, in French, abounding in ethnographic details respecting the Indian tribes, has been published—*Vie Militaire dans le Dakota; Notes et Souvenirs, 1867-1869* (Paris, Champion, 1927, pp. xvi, 407).

Messrs. Scribner have brought out *Readings in Recent American Constitutional History, 1876-1926*, edited by Professors Allen Johnson and William A. Robinson—135 documents, of which sixty are from the judicial reports, twenty from the statutes, others from constitutions, speeches, articles in legal and other periodicals, etc.—an admirable collection.

*Senate Document no. 93* of the 69th Congress, 1st session (pp. 148), is a complete list, briefly descriptive, of all *Proposed Amendments* to the Constitution of the United States introduced in Congress from December 4, 1889, where Professor Ames's list in the *Annual Report* of the American Historical Association for 1896 leaves off, to July 2, 1926. The list and its index were prepared by Dr. C. C. Tansill.

Frederick S. Wood has gathered into a volume, entitled *Roosevelt as We Knew Him*, the recollections of 150 of his friends and associates (Philadelphia, Winston).

Messrs. Putnam have brought out *The Life of Joseph Rucker Lamar, 1857-1916*, late justice of the Supreme Court, by Clarinda Pendleton Lamar.

Professor Charles Seymour, of Yale University, is preparing for the press the two concluding volumes of the *Intimate Papers of Colonel House*.

## LOCAL ITEMS ARRANGED IN GEOGRAPHICAL ORDER

## NEW ENGLAND

The first number of the *Journal of New England History* is expected to appear in January, 1928.

John Carroll Chase, president of the New England Historic Genealogical Society, has supplemented the history of Chester, N. H., published in 1869 by his grandfather Benjamin Chase, by the publication and issue of *A History of Chester, New Hampshire, including Auburn* (Derry, N. H., the compiler, 1926, pp. 535), in which, without unnecessary duplication of the earlier volume, he has printed chapters on early proprietary records, the royal charter, the various churches and ministers, the military and industrial history, etc.

*A History of the Grange in Vermont*, by Guy B. Horton, is brought out by the Vermont State Grange (Montpelier).

The October–November serial of the *Proceedings* of the Massachusetts Historical Society contains, besides commemorations of President Eliot, three letters of Harrison Gray Otis, 1814, 1815, 1819, the first two relating to the Hartford Convention.

The eighth volume of the Massachusetts Historical Society's *Journals of the House of Representatives of Massachusetts* (pp. xvi, 457) contains the records of seven sessions, from that of November, 1727, to that of April, 1729, inclusive, embracing the remaining period of Lieutenant-Governor Dummer and nearly the first year of Governor Burnet, who arrived in June, 1728. The matters of most importance in these journals relate to the establishment of additional frontier towns, defense, bills of credit, and the never-ending struggle between the governor and the purse-holding representatives. The apportionment of taxes to each town is given for the first time. It appears that the original edition of these journals, now so excessively rare, was of 250 copies.

Printing at Salem began in 1768. The Essex Institute offers for subscription, at \$8.00, *Salem Imprints, 1768–1825* (pp. 400), comprising the history of the first fifty years of printing in that town, with a list of more than 1800 imprints, some account of the bookshops, book-sellers, book-binders, and private libraries of Salem, and illustrations.

Edward C. Starr is the author of *A History of Cornwall, Connecticut* (Cornwall, the author).

## MIDDLE COLONIES AND STATES

The educational department of the state government at Albany (University of the State of New York) has issued for general use as part of the programme of the state committee on the 150th anniversary of the American Revolution, a well-illustrated book of 371 pages, prepared by the Division of Archives and History, on *The American Revolution in*

*New York: its Political, Social, and Economic Significance.* It is an admirable summary of the political and military events that occurred within that state, of the constitutional arrangements, of the processes of finance and supply, of the doings and fate of the Loyalists, and of the political, social, economic, religious, and cultural results of the movement. This is followed by lists of events that may be commemorated, of historic sites that may be marked, and of works relating to the subject; by a group of some twenty-five important documents illustrating the course of the Revolution in the state; and by useful suggestions for programmes of state and local celebration. The state is to be congratulated upon being enabled, by this book, to place the celebrations on so high a level of intelligence and fitness.

The October number of the *Quarterly Journal* of the New York State Historical Association contains an account of the dedication in August last of the Headquarters Building at Ticonderoga, including the several addresses on the occasion, together with a description of the building (a replica of the Hancock house in Boston), by Edward F. Rouse, and a description of the old Hancock house by A. C. Flick. Professor Milledge L. Bonham, jr., contributes Some Contemporary Letters about the Resumption of Specie Payments and the Geneva Arbitration; Philip Auchampaugh an article on Making Amendments in the Fifties; the Story of New York Factions, 1856; and Mrs. Theodore de Laporte of Rhinebeck some letters of Benjamin Bogardus, 1776, pertaining to Westchester. In the January number are found a brief paper by Reginald P. Bolton on Fighting around New York City in 1776; one by George O. Slingerland on Restoring Revolutionary Battlefields; and an installment of Garrison Orders and Proceedings of Fort Niagara, etc., 1812-1813.

The *Bulletin of the New York Public Library* for November begins an historical account of Early Library Development in New York State, 1800-1900. This is completed in the December issue. The former number contains also a bibliographical account of an exhibition illustrative of Jewish life in Oriental countries.

The *Proceedings* of the New Jersey Historical Society has in the January issue an article by William R. Ward on Washington's Retreat through the Jerseys, 1776, the concluding installment (barring some appendixes) of E. Alfred Jones's papers on the Loyalists of New Jersey in the Revolution, and a continuation of the late Dr. John C. Honeyman's papers on Zion, St. Paul, and other Early Lutheran Churches in Central New Jersey.

The *Bulletin of Friends' Historical Association*, XV. 2 (pp. 100), is filled with the correspondence of James Logan, of Pennsylvania, and Thomas Story, of England, eminent Friends both, an important correspondence for Pennsylvania and Quaker history.

The principal article in the January number of the *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine* is one entitled the Romance of the National Pike,

by Mrs. Carroll Miller. There are also a paper entitled the Romance of Local History, by Joseph H. Bausman, and Some Historical Notes of South-West Pennsylvania, by James L. Bowman, both articles to be continued.

*Revolutionary Soldiers of Warren County, Pennsylvania*, is a small volume of which Lucy M. D. Cowan is the author (Warren, Pa., Mrs. D. C. Shuler, Box 604).

#### SOUTHERN COLONIES AND STATES

*The Ante-Bellum Southern Commercial Conventions*, a monograph by John G. Van Deusen, instructor in history in Columbia University, is issued as *Historical Papers*, series XVI., of the Trinity College Historical Society (Duke University Press). From about 1835 to near the outbreak of the war there was a stream of conventions with varying objects: first, the establishment of direct trade with Europe, then railroad developments, larger commercial aims, disunion.

Articles in the December number of the *Maryland Historical Magazine*, other than continuations hitherto mentioned, are: Calvert and Darnall Gleanings from English Wills, by Mrs. Russell Hastings; How Maryland became a Sovereign State, by William L. Marbury; and a descriptive list of Records of Kent County, contributed by Louis D. Scisco.

Mr. Lawrence C. Wroth of the John Carter Brown Library is publishing through the Appeals Press of Richmond, Virginia, *William Parks, Printer and Journalist of England and Colonial America*. This is a more ample account of Parks and his work than that embodied in the author's *History of Printing in Colonial Maryland, 1686-1776* (Baltimore, 1922).

The *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* has in the January number, aside from continued series, an article by F. H. on Imprisonment for Debt in Colonial Virginia, a letter of Mrs. William H. Fitzhugh, 1853, concerning the funeral of Mrs. G. W. P. Custis, and one of Mrs. Robert E. Lee, Oct. 12, 1870, concerning the death of General Lee. There is also a catalogue of portraits in the collection of the Virginia Historical Society, with a tentative plan for their arrangement in Virginia House.

The *William and Mary College Quarterly Historical Magazine* has in the January number the address, entitled the Fighting Editor, delivered by Judge Robert M. Hughes before the Virginia Press Association, at Farmville, Jan. 15, 1926; an address of Dr. James Brown Scott on George Mason; a continuation of the studies of Professor Kathleen Bruce on Slave Labor in the Virginia Iron Industry; some letters of Edward Coles, 1822-1834, chiefly to James Madison; and a number of documents of Sir Francis Wyatt as governor of Virginia.

Editorial articles in the January number of *Tyler's Quarterly Historical and Genealogical Magazine* are: Was Lincoln an Ideal? and a Discussion of the Confederate Forces in the War for Southern Independence.



There are a number of letters of interest: one from General Smallwood to General Greene, 1780, one from Thomas Green to Thomas W. Gilmer, 1834, one from John Bell to R. P. Letcher, 1841, one from J. J. Crittenden to Chapman Coleman, 1841, and a group of letters (1805-1809) from Judge Peter Lyons to his granddaughter.

The University of West Virginia puts forth a volume by Professor James M. Callahan, *History of the Making of Morgantown, West Virginia: a Type Study in Trans-Appalachian Local History* (Morgantown, 1926, pp. 330, with illustrations, maps, and plans).

The *Eleventh Biennial Report* (1924-1926) of the North Carolina Historical Commission records many valuable accessions of manuscripts and records, both by acquisition and transfer. Among these were numerous county records (93 volumes and 22 boxes), executive records (25 volumes), English and Spanish photostats and transcripts (nearly 20,000 pages), large additions to the so-called private collections, to the Civil War papers, the World War records, 245 maps, etc. The commission has in press *A History of North Carolina in the War between the States*, vols. I. and II., by General D. H. Hill, and the *Public Letters and Papers of Cameron Morrison, Governor of North Carolina, 1921-1925*.

The January number of the *North Carolina Historical Review* contains an article by Professor J. G. de R. Hamilton on the Preservation of North Carolina History; one by Professor E. Merton Coulter on the Movement for Agricultural Reorganization in the Cotton South during the Civil War; and one by Professor Percy S. Flippin on Governor William Gooch of Virginia. The eighteenth-century tracts in this issue are: *The Independent Citizen* (1787), dealing with the subject of legislative restriction upon jury trial, and *A Petition and Remonstrance to the President and Congress of the United States* (1791?), complaining against the excise law. Among the "Historical Notes" are parts of two letters from William Hooper to Robert Morris, Dec. 28, 1776, and May 27, 1777, printed from a scrap-book. The letter of May 27 is to be found in its entirety in the New York Historical Society's *Collections: Revolutionary Papers*, I. 427.

The *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine* continues in the numbers for April and July, 1926, the correspondence of Arthur Middleton. The letters in the April number are chiefly of the year 1782 and include three from the delegates in Congress, five from C. C. Pinckney, three from Governor Mathews, and two from Ralph Izard. Those in the July number are principally of the years 1775-1779, among them eight letters from Arthur Middleton to William Henry Drayton, two from Pierce Butler, two from Henry Laurens, one from John Adams, and one from Governor James Wright of Georgia to Lord William Campbell, governor of South Carolina, June 27, 1775. Mr. Joseph W. Barnwell, who edited this remarkable body of Middleton correspondence, contributes to the October number of the *Magazine* an article on Fort King George,

embodying the Journal of Col. John Barnwell in the construction of the fort on the Altamaha in 1721, and accompanied by a map. Mr. F. B. Taylor contributes a sketch of Col. Thomas Taylor (1743-1833). The number for January presents Colonel J. C. Senf's description (1800) of the Santee Canal, of which he was engineer; and a body of seventeenth-century records of the Society of Friends in Charleston.

Henry T. Thompson is the author of a volume entitled *Ousting the Carpetbagger from South Carolina*, which the R. L. Bryan Company of Columbia has published.

The Sunday School Board of the Southern Baptist Convention has published (Nashville) a *Memoir of James Petigru Boyce*, for many years president of the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, from the pen of Dr. Boyce's successor in the presidency of that institution, Dr. John A. Broadus. President William J. McGlothlin of Furman University is the author of a history of that university, which the same board has published, under the title, *Baptist Beginnings in Education*. *The Life Work of James Clement Furman*, written by Harvey T. Cook, is the biography of a Baptist minister and educator, for many years president of that university (Greenville, South Carolina, the author).

The Duke University Press has brought out *Georgia and the Union in 1850*, by Dr. Richard H. Shryock of the University of Pennsylvania.

The Florida State Historical Society expects to publish before long a volume of the letters of Pedro Menéndez de Avilés, Spanish text and translation, edited by Mrs. Jeannette Thurber Connor, and, later, a volume of the letters of Don Manuel de Montiano, a later governor, Spanish text and translation, by Professor W. W. Pierson, jr., of the University of North Carolina. Together they will make a highly important addition to our materials for the history of Spanish Florida.

Mrs. Nicholas Ware Eppes (Susan Bradford Eppes) of Tallahassee has written and publishes a little volume on *The Negro of the Old South* (pp. 203), which she designates and intends as a "bit of period history", and has followed it by a larger volume, *Through Some Eventful Years* (pp. 378), which illustrates the period of Southern history from about 1856 to 1870 by local recollections, very well told, and by opinions characteristic of a lady of the Old South. The incidents related are good material for Florida social history; the opinions on larger or political matters declare the beneficence of slavery and the supreme excellence of the Southern social system.

Mr. Henry P. Dart contributes to the *Louisiana Historical Quarterly* for October, 1925, an article on Imprisonment for Debt in French Louisiana, 1743, and an account of the sale of Chaouachas Plantation, 1737-1738, together with an important body of documents in translation (53 pages in extent) concerning the sale. Mr. John S. Kendall contributes an article on Journalism in New Orleans between 1880 and 1900, Mr. W. O. Hart one on the New Orleans *Times* and the New Orleans *Democrat*, and Mr.

Bussiere Rouen a brief account of *L'Abeille de la Nouvelle-Orléans* and its passing. The number for January, 1926, is devoted almost entirely to documents on the battle of New Orleans: a letter of Wellington to Lord Longford, Brussels, May 22, 1815, on the death of the latter's brother, Sir Edward Pakenham; a contemporary account by an unknown soldier in the ranks; a long defense by Gen. D. B. Morgan of the fighting on the right bank of the river; a Massachusetts volunteer's letter to his wife; and, chief of all, a reprint from the Dublin 1815 pamphlet of the court martial of Lt.-Col. Mullins of the 44th. The records of the superior court of Louisiana are carried on from February to June 1, 1737, and the calendar of the Spanish judicial records from June, 1772, to March, 1773.

## WESTERN STATES

The March number of the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* has an entertaining article on the Life of the Common Soldier in the Union Army, by Professor Fred A. Shannon; a narrative of the operation of the Land Laws in the Minnesota Iron District, by Professor Fremont P. Wirth; an article on William Henry Harrison in the War of 1812, by Professor Beverley W. Bond, jr.; and one on the Federal Civil Service under President Jackson, by Professor Erik M. Eriksson.

The Western Reserve Historical Society has received, from the granddaughter of Governor Edward Tiffin, a collection of over 1500 manuscripts from the correspondence of the first governor of Ohio.

The Indiana Historical Bureau is preparing for publication in the fall the order-book of the garrison of Fort Wayne from 1802 to 1811, together with the account-book of John Johnston, Indian agent at Fort Wayne, with an introduction and notes by B. J. Griswold.

The *Indiana History Bulletin* for December contains, besides a record of historical activities in the state, a brief discussion of the need of a state library and historical building, and a lamentation over the enforced closing of the state museum because of the necessity of surrendering most of its space to the automobile department.

The December number of the *Indiana Magazine of History* contains a paper on Pioneer Presbyterianism in Indiana, by Professor James A. Woodburn, and the Memoir of Enoch Parr (1785-1851), a refreshing story of pioneer efforts, religion, and politics.

*A History of the Lake and Calumet Region of Indiana*, in two volumes, is soon to be published. It has been compiled under the direction of Thomas H. Cannon of Gary, Judge H. H. Loring of Valparaiso, and Charles J. Robb of Michigan City.

The *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* comes out in a double number for the period April-July, 1926. The contents include a discussion by Professor Clarence W. Alvord of the Daniel Boone Myth; a paper by John M. Zane entitled a Rare Judicial Service, being an account

of the work of Charles S. Zane as chief-justice of the court opened in Salt Lake City in 1884 to try the Mormon cases; and the Autobiography of Abel Mills (1829-1919). There is also a sketch, by Dr. Otto L. Schmidt, of Mrs. Jessie Palmer Weber, late secretary of the Illinois State Historical Society and editor of the *Journal*.

The *Illinois Catholic Historical Review* begins in the January number a series of papers by Joseph J. Thompson, entitled *Illinois: the Cradle of Christianity and Civilization in Mid-America: a Documentary History*. Among the other contents are an English translation, by Raphael N. Hamilton, S.J., of the Journey of the Bishop of Walla Walla (over the Oregon Trail in 1847); an article on the American Federation of Catholic Societies, by Anthony Matré; and Bishop England's Correspondence with Bishop Rosati, contributed by Rev. John Rothensteiner. Rev. Henry S. Spalding's Life of James Marquette is continued.

The second number (January) of *The History Quarterly*, the new journal inaugurated by the Filson Club, has an article by Young E. Allison entitled a Chapter of Trappist History in Kentucky, and one by Rolf Johannesen entitled a Roman Town in Africa. Milo M. Quaife's paper, When Detroit invaded Kentucky, is reprinted from the *Burton Historical Collection Leaflet*, vol. IV., no. 2. There is also a deposition of Daniel Boone, 1817, respecting his trip to Kentucky in 1774.

The *Register* of the Kentucky State Historical Society prints in the January number a first installment of the Life and Times of Robert B. McAfee and his Family and Connections, written by himself in 1845. Among the documents is a record ("returns") of Virginia justices of the peace and military officers in the District of Kentucky prior to 1792.

The Kingsport Press, Kingsport, Tenn., is inaugurating a series of historical narratives of early days in the old Southwest, to bear the general title *Holston Historical Library*. The first volume of the series is *Historical Sketches of the Holston Valleys*, by Thomas W. Preston.

The Michigan Historical Commission has published the third volume of the *Messages of the Governors of Michigan* (pp. 752), from Governor H. P. Baldwin of 1869 to Governor J. T. Rich of 1897, inclusive.

Among the contributions to the January number of the *Michigan History Magazine* are: Dr. Tappan as Builder of the University, by Charles M. Perry; Old Times at Michigan, by George D. Chafee; a Michigan Gold Mine, by George A. Newett; and Michigan Democracy in the Civil War, by John P. Pritchett.

The leading article in the September *Records* of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia is the first installment of a sketch of the life of Father Gabriel Richard, of Detroit (1769-1832), by Rev. Paul M. Judson, O.S.A.

In the December number of the *Wisconsin Magazine of History* Dr. Joseph Schafer has an article on the Genesis of Wisconsin's Free High

School System, Harry Barsantee discourses upon the History and Development of the Telephone in Wisconsin, and Frank G. Swoboda writes briefly concerning Agricultural Co-operation in Wisconsin. There is also a note by Robert Wild, summarizing and commenting upon the Belknap Impeachment Trial. Documents in this issue are: an autobiography (first installment) of Robert Fargo (1828-1908), and the Civil War Diary of Herman Salomon.

A biography of William Penn Lyon, by his daughter, Mrs. Lyon Hayes, has been appearing in the *Wisconsin Magazine of History*. Mrs. Hayes has now provided for its issue as a book, and it will appear as a publication of the Wisconsin State Historical Society. The society will also publish, at the cost of Dr. Joseph Schneider, the facsimile of the *Pharmacopoeia Augustana*, heretofore mentioned, edited by Professor Edward Kremers, and hopes that the legislature may provide the means for completing its historical work on the state constitution by issuing the fourth volume, containing the excessively rare journal of the second constitutional convention.

The Minnesota Historical Society has completed its calendar of the Papers of the American Fur Company (see p. 519, *supra*) and also the compilation and indexing of the abstracts of fur-traders' licenses (1765-1790) in the Canadian archives at Ottawa.

In the December number of *Minnesota History* Irving H. Hart discusses the Site of the Northwest Company Post on Sandy Lake, and John P. Pritchett presents some Sidelights on the Sibley Expedition from the Diary of a Private (Henry J. Hagadorn). There is also a descriptive letter written by William K. McFarlane, from the Falls of St. Anthony, 1855.

*The Life of Knut Nelson*, late senator from Minnesota, by Martin W. Odland, has been published in Minneapolis by the Lund Press.

The State Historical Society of Iowa expects to publish a volume in the nature of an historical interpretation of Iowa, by Mr. Irving B. Richman.

In the January number of the *Iowa Journal of History and Politics* Erik M. Eriksson has a biographical account of William Penn Clarke (1817-1903), newspaper editor and lawyer, an outstanding figure in the constitutional convention of 1857, and active in politics to the close of the Civil War. Hubert H. Hoeltje contributes extensive Notes on the History of Lecturing in Iowa, 1855-1885.

In the January number of the *Annals of Iowa* is a very interesting article by Cal. Ogburn on the Pioneer Religious Revival. Benjamin F. Pearson's War Diary is concluded in this issue.

In the December number of the *Palimpsest* Marie E. Meyer gives some account of the rise and decline of river towns along the Iowa border. In the February number John E. Briggs relates the history of the contests over the location of the Iowa capital.

The Missouri Historical Society has acquired photostat copies of a remarkable series of several scores of Guillaume de l'Isle's maps.

Among the contents of the January number of the *Missouri Historical Review* are: When Cleveland came to St. Louis, by Walter B. Stevens; a Study in Missouri Politics, 1840-1870 (first article), by Raymond D. Thomas; the Missouri River and its Victims (first article), by W. J. McDonald; Pioneer Life in Callaway County, by Olive Bell; Campaigning with Mark Twain, by Absalom Grimes, edited by M. M. Quaife; and, in Daniel M. Grissom's series of Personal Recollections of Distinguished Missourians, some account of Gen. John B. Clark (1802-1885).

*A History of Laclede County, Missouri, from 1820 to 1926*, by Leo Nyberg, is published in Lebanon by the Rustic Printers.

The Arkansas division of the United Daughters of the Confederacy announces the publication of *Arkansas in War and Reconstruction, 1861-1874*, by Professor David Y. Thomas of the University of Arkansas, a book of 446 pages, dealing at length with the military and political history of the state during the period indicated.

The January number of the *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* contains an article by Roscoe C. Martin on the Greenback Party in Texas; some Extracts from the Reminiscences of Gen. George W. Morgan, contributed by Samuel E. Asbury; a first installment of Descriptions of the Tejas or Asinai Indians, translated and edited by Mrs. Mattie Austin Hatcher; and a second installment of the Diary of Adolphus Sterne, edited by Harriet Smither.

The State Historical Society of North Dakota began in October the issue of a journal, the *North Dakota Historical Quarterly*, of which the first volume is reckoned as vol. VIII. of the society's *Collections*. In the two numbers thus far published the most interesting matters are pages of recollections: in the October number, those of A. C. Huidekoper, rancher in the Bad Lands, 1879-1887, and of Robert Campbell, Scottish sheep farmer, describing a journey from Fort Garry to Kentucky for sheep; in the January number the experiences of Smith Stimmel as a member of President Lincoln's bodyguard at Washington, 1863-1865; portions of a diary of Dr. B. F. Slaughter, assistant surgeon for the 17th Infantry at Fort Rice in 1871; and the portion relative to North Dakota of the journal of Lieutenant H. A. Maynadier on a boat trip down the Missouri from Fort Union to Omaha in 1860, reprinted from Reynolds's *Exploration of the Yellowstone River* (Washington, 1868).

Among the contents of the December number of the *Chronicles of Oklahoma* are: a sketch, by Mrs. Czarina Conlan, of David Folsom (1791-1847), "first Republican Chief of the Choctaw Nation"; one, by E. E. Dale, of John Rollin Ridge (born 1827), Cherokee "poet, scholar, adventurer, argonaut, journalist, and man of letters"; a Journey across Oklahoma Ninety Years ago, by W. B. Morrison; Captain Nathan Boone's Survey of the Creek-Cherokee Boundary Line (1833), contributed, with



an introduction, by Grant Foreman; and Some Experiences in the Sac and Fox Reservation, by J. Y. Bryce.

In the January number of the *Colorado Magazine* Joseph L. Kingsbury describes the Pike's Peak Rush of 1859 and J. A. Jeancon discourses upon the Antiquities of Moffat County, Colo.

The January number of the *New Mexico Historical Review* has an article on Music Teaching in New Mexico in the Seventeenth Century, by Lota M. Spell; an address by Paul A. F. Walter on the First Meeting of the New Mexico Educational Association (Santa Fé, 1886); and an account, by Bess McKinnan, of the Toll Road over Raton Pass. Mr. Walter's papers on New Mexico in the Great War and G. P. Hammond's studies of the Founding of New Mexico are continued.

*Kit Carson's Own Story of his Life as Dictated to Colonel and Mrs. D. C. Peters about 1856-57*, edited by Blanche C. Grant, is brought out in Taos, N. M., by the editor.

Col. W. C. Brown, U. S. A. retired, is the author of a short monograph on *The Sheep-eater Campaign*, a campaign against the so-called "sheep-eater" Indians in middle Idaho in 1879. Colonel Brown, as second lieutenant, was with Lieutenant E. S. Farrow's Umatilla Indian scouts throughout the campaign. In this account, reprinted from the *Tenth Biennial Report* of the Idaho Historical Society, he has utilized diaries and official records.

In the January number of the *Washington Historical Quarterly* Judge F. W. Howay writes concerning the Early Followers of Captain Gray, Mr. Lawrence F. Abbott discourses upon New York and Astoria, Mrs. Richard Aldrich furnishes some Notes on the Astors, and Mr. J. Orin Oliphant contributes some considerable additions to Professor Meany's account of Newspapers of Washington Territory. In the section of documents are two new letters of Captain Vancouver, and some military communications (1862) relating to the career of Colonel (afterward General) B. L. E. Bonneville, whose name is inseparably linked with the Oregon question.

Articles in the December number of the *Oregon Historical Quarterly* are: James Douglas on the Columbia, 1830-1849, by Professor W. N. Sage of the University of British Columbia; Pioneer Pot Pourri, by Charles B. Moores; Broughton on the Columbia in 1792, by J. Neilson Barry; and the fifth installment of Lewis A. McArthur's studies of Oregon Geographic Names.

*Historic Aboriginal Groups of the California Delta Region*, by W. Egbert Schenck, is among the *University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology*.

The *Report* of the Historical Commission of the Territory of Hawaii for the two years ending with December, 1926, contains, besides an interesting record of searches and achievements, two groups of official des-

patches illustrating politics in Hawaii in 1853, the one from Luther Severance, United States commissioner, the other from William Miller, British consul general; also some twenty despatches to the Foreign Office from W. W. S. Syngé, British consul general, 1862-1864, showing the nature and operation of British influence in the islands.

## CANADA

The *Canadian Historical Review* for December has articles on the Confederate Council of Trade which met in Quebec in 1865 and had a part in preparing for confederation. This is by Mr. Norman M. Rogers. Mr. A. H. U. Colquhoun has a paper on the Career of Joseph Willcocks, agitator in Upper Canada; Professor R. L. Reid one on the First Bank in Western Canada (MacDonald's Bank, established in Victoria, B. C., in 1859). The section of documents presents the minutes of the Hudson's Bay Company's council of the northern department of Rupert's Land for 1825, illustrating the history of the Canadian Northwest immediately after the union of the North-West and Hudson's Bay Companies.

The biographical series *Makers of Canada*, issued more than twenty years ago, has now been brought out in a new and greatly improved edition, edited by Principal W. L. Grant (Toronto, Oxford University Press, twelve vols.). Besides much revision, the new edition is marked by the substitution of new lives of Bishop Laval and of Lord Elgin, by Abbé H. A. Scott and Professor W. P. M. Kennedy respectively; by the incorporation of Sir John Willison's remarkable *Sir Wilfrid Laurier*, originally published in 1903 but now brought down to Sir Wilfrid's death in 1919, of Mr. Walter Vaughan's *Life of Sir William Van Horne* (1920), and of a new life of Lord Strathcona, by Professor John Macnaughton. Finally, in place of the *Index and Dictionary of Canadian History* (1911) there has been substituted, as vol. XII. of the new series, an *Oxford Encyclopaedia of Canadian History* (pp. 699, maps and illustrations), carefully prepared by the competent hands of Mr. L. J. Burpee.

The Ryerson Press of Toronto proposes the issue by subscription of a series called *The Canadian Historical Studies*, a collection of historical volumes regarding Canada, composed either of original documents or of authoritative studies by scholars of recognized ability. The volumes are expected to be handsome, as well as authoritative, and the editions will be limited. The first proposals are three: *The Dixon-Meares Controversy*, rare pamphlets, with comment and apparatus by Judge F. W. Howay, and illustrations and maps; *Zimmerman's Captain Cook*, edited by the same noted scholar, being a reprint, with translation, of an excessively rare German account of Cook's final voyage, by a Swiss sailor on the *Discovery*, entitled, *Reise um die Welt mit Capitain Cook* (Mannheim, 1781); and Liber VII. of the *Historia Canadensis* by Father Francis DuCreux, describing the downfall of Huronia—Latin text in facsimile, with translation, notes, and introduction by Percy J. Robinson. Meantime, however (apropos of the second), the Alexander Turnbull Li-

brary, in Wellington, New Zealand, has published as one of its bulletins *Zimmermann's Account of the Third Voyage of Captain Cook, 1776-1780* (pp. 50; 2 s. 6 d.), translated by Miss U. Tewsley, of the library staff.

The Public Archives of Canada and the Public Record Office of Northern Ireland have arranged for the publication of the *Journal of Henry Kelsey*, which deals with life and exploration in the Hudson Bay region between 1683 and 1722.

The *Bulletin des Recherches Historiques* published by the Archive Office of the Province of Quebec and edited by the archivist, M. Pierre-Georges Roy, has been provided with a four-volume index to its contents for the whole period from 1895 to 1925.

Professor George M. Wrong's history of the Murray Bay seignory (1908) has long been out of print. A new edition, *A Canadian Manor and its Seigneurs: the Story of a Hundred Years, 1761-1861* (pp. xviii, 296, maps and illustrations), has been published at Toronto, by the Macmillan Company.

Much instruction and much entertainment is to be had from *Early Days in Upper Canada: Letters of John Langton from the Backwoods of Upper Canada and the Audit Office of the Province of Canada* (Toronto, Macmillan Company, 1926, pp. xl, 310, illustrations and maps), edited with an introduction by W. A. Langton. It shows the experiences of a pioneer in the years 1831-1837, and of a public official in the '50's.

#### AMERICA, SOUTH OF THE UNITED STATES

With the February number, the *Hispanic American Historical Review*, having completed its interrupted sixth volume, makes an "even start", this number being reckoned the first of vol. VII. The articles are of varied interest. Professor J. Fred Rippy treats of Britain's rôle in the Early Relations of the United States with Mexico; Professor L. M. Sears of French Opinion of the Spanish-American War, opinion prevailingly hostile; Professor J. L. Mecham of the *Real de Minas* as a Political Institution of the Frontier in Spanish Colonial America; Professor C. E. Chapman of the United States and the Dominican Republic.

A survey of present and contemplated investigations in the field of Hispanic-American history, resolved upon by a group of those interested who met at the Rochester meeting of the American Historical Association, is in progress, in the hands of Professor A. Curtis Wilgus of the University of South Carolina. It will include the work being done by teachers and graduate students in the departments of history, political science, economics, and geography in the chief colleges and universities of the country.

Señor Genaro Estrada, who on behalf of the Mexican Ministry of Foreign Relations edits the *Monografías Bibliográficas Mexicanas*, announces an intention of publishing in that series, if possible, a bibliogra-

phy of each of the Mexican states. A beginning is made with a *Bibliografía de Sinaloa* (pp. 185), by José G. Heredia, far from complete, but containing several hundred titles. In the ministry's series called *Archivo Histórico Diplomático Mexicano*, the latest issue, no. 20, is *Los Precursores de la Diplomacia Mexicana*, by Isidro Fabela, texts and narratives of curious negotiations, from colonial times to 1824.

*José de Escandón and the Founding of Nuevo Santander: a Study in Spanish Colonization*, by Lawrence F. Hill, Ph.D., appears as no. 9 of the Ohio State University *Contributions in History and Political Science*. It is the story of a remarkably successful undertaking in colonization accomplished in a period of ten years (1747-1757) in a region in which there had been a century and a half of failure.

The firm of Genet (Paris) announces an *Histoire des Peuples Mayas-Quichés* (Mexico, Guatemala, Honduras) by MM. Genet and Chelbatz; also Diego de Landa's *Relation des Choses de Yucatan* in the complete Spanish text with French translation by M. Genet, the latter work to be published in two volumes in July.

*A History of Barbados, 1625-1685* (Clarendon Press), by Vincent T. Harlow, is thorough, detailed, and careful.

One of the appendixes (pp. 99-132) of part 1 of volume XLVII. of the Dutch government's *Verslagen omtrent 's Rijks Oude Archieven* presents a report on the old archives of St. Eustatius, St. Martin, and Saba, transferred to the Hague by decrees of 1915 and 1919, together with appropriate explanations of administrative arrangements. The papers from St. Eustatius begin with 1781, the British having on their capture of the island in that year destroyed all previous archives. Some of the papers from St. Martin date from 1729; a few additional papers of Curaçao are added, supplementing the list published in volume XLIII.

The Venezuelan government has acquired from the present representatives of the third Lord Bathurst the archives of General Francisco Miranda, carefully preserved in sixty-three bound volumes, in folio, and covering substantially all aspects of his career from 1764 to 1810. Many autograph letters of prominent public men of the United States are included in some of the volumes. A list of the volumes is printed in the *Bulletin* of the Pan-American Union for March, pp. 216-218.

A second Congress of American History and Geography was held in Asunción, Paraguay, October 12-17, last. Several of the South American states were, like Spain and the United States, represented by their diplomatic ministers at Asunción, but delegates of technical preparation were present from Argentina, Bolivia, and Paraguay.

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Noteworthy articles in periodicals: *Should American History be Hero-Worship?* I. W. H. Blumenthal, *A Plea for Unvarnished Truth*; II. A. B. Hart, *Baseless Slanders of Great Men* (*Current History*, March); W. W. Sweet, *Some Significant Factors in American Church History* (*Journal*

of Religion, January); Halldór Hermannsson, *The Wineland Voyages: a Few Suggestions* (Geographical Review, January); Ch. de la Roncière, *Une Paroisse Morte du Groenland; Herjolfsnes* (Journal des Savants, August-October); S. Larsen, *La Découverte de l'Amérique vingt ans avant Christophe Colomb* [by Joannes Scolvus, a Dane] (Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris, XVIII.); A. H. Verrill, *The Pompeii of Ancient America* [in Cocle, Panamá] (World's Work, January); Miller Christy, *Captain William Hawkeridge and his Voyage in Search of a North-West Passage in 1625* (Mariner's Mirror, January); R. B. Morris, *Primogeniture and Entailed Estates in America* (Columbia Law Review, January); J. B. Hubbell, *Cavalier and Indentured Servant in Virginia Fiction* (South Atlantic Quarterly, January); S. Parkes Cadman, *Wesley's Influence upon the United States of America* (Methodist Magazine, February); Wade Millis, *A Monument to the American Sense of Justice* [a discussion of the Boston Massacre and the subsequent trial] (Michigan Law Review, December); Marguerite M. McKee, *Service of Supply in the War of 1812*, cont. (Quartermaster Review, January-February); J. Triouiller, *L'Évolution de la Production du Coton aux États-Unis* (Revue des Sciences Politiques, October-December); A. Rein, *Zur Geschichte des Panamá-Kongresses 1826* (Iberica, V. 3); C. K. Webster, *British Mediation between France and the United States in 1834-1836* (English Historical Review, January); Marcel Marion, *L'Histoire d'Hier; un Épisode Oublié des Relations Pécuniaires Franco-Américaines, 1834-1835* (Revue des Deux Mondes, November 1); G. F. Milton, *Fifty-Fifty and Fight* [a history of the "one-third rule"] (Virginia Quarterly Review, January); F. E. Richter, *The Copper-Mining Industry in the United States, 1845-1925* (Quarterly Journal of Economics, February); W. E. Dodd, *The Rise of Abraham Lincoln* (Century Magazine, March); A. Chaboseau, *Garibaldi et les États-Unis* (Mercure de France, December 15); E. M. Earle, *Egyptian Cotton and the American Civil War* (Political Science Quarterly, December); G. S. Wykoff, *Charles Mackay: England's Forgotten Civil War Correspondent* (South Atlantic Quarterly, January); R. W. Neeser, *Historic Ships of the Navy [Kearsage and Oregon]* (United States Naval Institute Proceedings, February); Mark Mohler, *The Episcopal Church and National Reconciliation* (Political Science Quarterly, December); W. P. Webb, *The American Revolver and the West* (Scribner's Magazine, February); Brig.-Gen. Edward J. McClernand, *With the Indian and the Buffalo in Montana* (Cavalry Journal, January); Major E. W. Nesham, *The Alaskan Boundary Demarcation* (Geographical Journal, January); W. A. Phillips, *American Imperialism* (Edinburgh Review, January); Marjorie McKenzie, *Canadian History in the French-Canadian Novel*, concl. (Queen's Quarterly, October-November-December); G. Friederici, *Die Städtegründung im Kolonialen Spanisch-Amerika* (Iberica, IV. 4); A. Guimarães, *Os Judeus Portuguezes e Brasileiros na America Hespanhola* (Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris, XVIII.).

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